

The holy apostle and doctour of the peple saynt
Paul sayth in his eppistle. **A**ll that is wryten
is wryten vnto our doctryne and for our lernynge.
Wherefore many noble clerkes haue endeuyred
them to wryte and compyle many notable werkes and
hystories to the ende that it myght come to the knowlege
and vnderstandyng of suche as ben ygnorant. Of which
the nombre is infenye. And accordyng to the same sayth
Salamon. that the nombre of folke. is infenye. And
among alle other good werkes. It is a werke of tycht
special recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderstande
wyse dom and vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can
not dyscerne wyse dom fro folye. Thene emonge whom
there was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the reyaume
of fraunce of the ordre of the hospital of Saynt Iohnes of
Iherusalem which entenced the same and hath made a
book of the classe moralysed. which at suche tyme as I
was resident in brudges in the counte of Flaunders com
in to my handes. which when I had red and ouersaw
ne semed ful necessarye for to be had in englysshe. And
in eschewyng of ydolence. And to thende that some which
haue not seen it ne vnderstonde frenssh ne latyn. I deli
bered in my self to translate it in to our maternal tonge.
And when I so had achyueued the sayd translatioun. I
dyd do sette in enprynthe a certeyn nombre of them.
which anon were depested and sold. Wherefore by cause
this sayd book is ful of holsom wyse dom and requysyte
vnto euery estate and degree. I haue purposed to
enprynthe it. shewyng therein the figures of suche persons

as longer to the playe. In Whom al a states and degrees
 are comprised / Reschynge al them that this litel Booke
 shal see here, or rede to haue me for excused for the rude &
 simple making and reducyng in to our englissh / And
 where as is default to correcte and amende / and in so doyng
 they shal deserue merite and thanke, and I shal pray for
 them, that god of his grete mercy shal rewarde them in
 his euerlastyng blisse in heuen, to the Whiche he bringe
 us, that with his precious bloody redeemed be Amen

This booke is reuyded and departed in to four traytyes
 and parties



The first traytye

How the playe of the chesse was fyrst founden
 and vnder what kynge capitulo i
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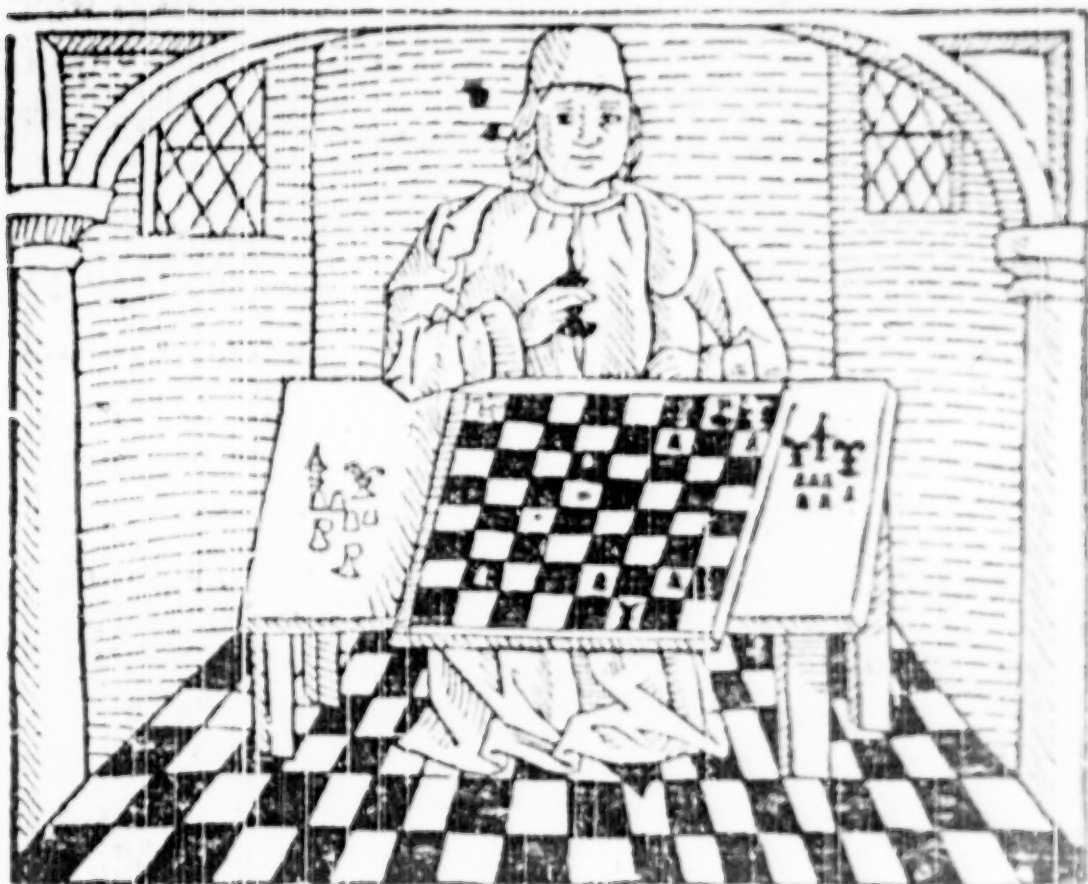
This first chapitir of the first tractate sheweth vnto
 us what kyng the playe of the Chess was founden and
 made . Capitulo Primo



AMong alle the euyl condicions & signes that may
 be in a man the first and the greatest is . When he fe
 areth not ne dredeyth to displese & make wroth god by synne
 & the peple by luyng disordnatly / Sohan he relecth not .
 nor taketh hede vnto them that reprove hym and his vy
 ces . But sleeth them . In such wyse as did the emperour
 nero . Whiche did so sle his mayster seneque . for as moche
 as he myght not suffer to be reprovd & taughte of hym . in
 like wyse was soeyne a kyng in babilon that was named

Enylmerodach a Iolye man without Justyce and so cru-
el that he did to helpe his fathers body in thre hundred pices
and gaf hit to ete and deuour to thre hundred hyrces that
men calle Boulterres. And Was of such condicion as Was
Nero. And right wel resembled and Was lyke vnto his
fater Nabugodonosor. Whiche on a tyme Wold to slee all
the sage and Wise men of Babylone. For as moche as they
coude not telle hym his dreame that he had dremyd on a
nyght and had forgotten hit like as hit is Writen in the
byble in the booke of daniel. Under this kyng theene Enyl-
merodach Was this game and playe of the chesse founden.
Trwe it is that some men Wene that this playe Was fol-
lowen in the tyme of the bataylles and siege of troye. But
that is not so. For this playe cam to the playes of the
Gallies ad diomedes the greke saith and reherceth, that
amonge the philosophers Was the most renowned playe a-
monge al other playes. And after that cam this playe
in the tyme of alexander the greke in to egypt and so vnto
alle the parties toward the south. And the cause Wherefore
this playe Was so renowned shal be sayd in the iii chapter.

This chappere of the first tractate sheweth who fond
first the playe of the Chesse Capitulo 11

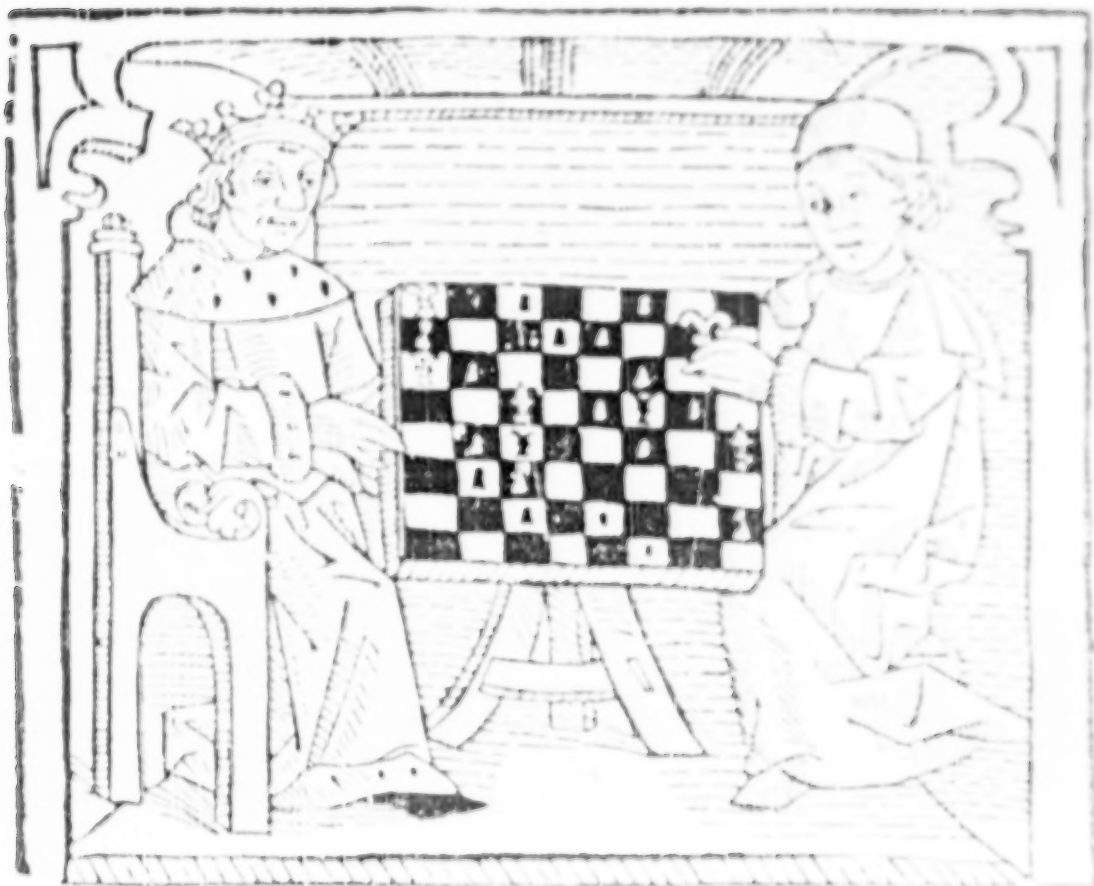



This playe founde a philosopher of thoyent whiche
was named in calde Eperes or in greke philemes
for which is as much to say in englyssh as he that loveth
Justyce and mesure. And this philosopher was renowned
grettly among the grekes andy them of Athens whiche
were good clerkes and philosophers also renowned of their
connyng. This philosopher was so Just and trewe that he
had leuer dye / than to lyue longe and be a false flaterer
With the sayd kyng. For whan he beheld the foul & syn-
ful lyf of the kyng. And that no man durst blame hym

For by his grette cruelte he put them al to deth that disple
sid hym. He put hym self in perill of deth and loundy a
chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue. The euyl lyf and
disfamed of a kyng is the lyf of a cruel keste. and ought
not longe to be susteyned for he destroyeth hym that disple
sith hym. And therfore reherceth Valerius. that there was
a Wyse man named theodore whom his kyng dyd to
hange on the crosse for as moche as he repleynd hym of
hys euyl & foul lyf. and alwey as he was in the torment
he sayd to the kyng. Upon thy counceyllours and thy
that ben cladd in thy clothynge and rebys were more reson
that this torment shold come. for as moche as they are
not foy to the trewthe for to do Justyse rightwyslye. of
my self I make no force whether I dye on the loundy or on
the water or other wyse. No who sayth he wretched not to
dye for Justyce. In like wyse as demoreon the philoso
pher put out his owne eye by cause he wold not see that
no good myght come to the euyl and vicious peple wyth
out right. And also reherces the philosopher as he went
toward his deth. His wyf that folowed after hym sayd
that he was dāpned to deth wrongfully. thē he answered
and sayd to her. holde thy pece and be stille. hit is better
and more meritorye to dye by a wrong & unrightful Ju
gement / than that I had deserved to dye.



The thyrd chapitre of the first tractate treateth Wherfore
the playe Was founden and maad? Capitulo in



 The causes Wherfore this playe Was founden ten in.
The first Was for to correcte and repteue the kyng
for When this kyng enylmerodach sawe this playe And
the barons. knyghtes. and gentylmen of his court playe
Wyth the phylosophe: / he merueylled greatly of the beaultee
and nouelte of the playe. And desired to playe agaynst
the phylosophe: The phylosophe: answered and sayd to hym
that hit myght not be don / but yf he first lernyd the playe
The kyng sayd hit Was reson andy that he Wold put hym
to the payn to lerne hit / Then the phylosophe began to

teche hym/and to shewe hym the maner of the table of the
hesse worde and the chesse meyne . And also the maners &
the condicions of a kyng of the nobles and of the comyn
peple and of theyr offycers and how they shold be touchyd &
draught . And how he shold amende hym self and become
vertuous, and when this kyng herde that he reprovyd hym
he demaunded hym vpon payn of deeth to telle hym where
fore he had founden and maad this playe, and he answered
my right dere lord and kyng . the greetest and most thyng
that I desire is that thou haue in thy self a glorious and
vertuous lyf. And that may I not see, but yf thou be en
doctrined and wel manerd and that had. so mayst thou be
belouyd of thy peple . Thus than I desire that thou haue
other gouernement thene thou hast had . & that thou haue
vpon thy self first seignourie & maistris such as thou hast
vpon other by force and not by right . Certeynly hit is
not right that a man be maister ouer other & comaliour
whē he can not rule nor may rule hym self and that his
vertues domyne aboue his vyces for seignourie by force
and wyllē may not longe endure/ Thence thus may thou
see oon of the causes why and wherefore I haue founden &
maad this playe . which is for to correcte and reprove the
of thy tyrannye & vicious lyuynge, for all kynges ought
specially to be her corrigiours or correctours and her cor
rections to holde and kepe in mynde . In like wyse as Val
erius reherceth that the kyng alexandre had a noble and
renomed knyght that sayd in reprovynge of Alexandre
that he was to moche couetous & in especial of the honours
of the world, And sayd to hym yf the goddes had maade

thy body as grete as is thy herte. Alle the Worldy coude
not holde the . for thou holdest in thy right hand al the ory
ent . and in thy left hand the occident . sith than hit is so
or thou art a god / or a man / or nought . yf thou be god .
do thou Wel and good to the peple as god woth . and take
not from them that they ought to haue and is the first .
Yf thou be a man thynke that thou shalt dye . and than
thou shalt doo noon euyl . yf thou be nought / forgette thy
self . There is no thyng so stronge and ferme . but
that sumtyme a feble thyng casteth down and ouerthrowe
hit . How Wel that the lyon be the strengest best . yet
somtyme a lityl byrde eteth hym . The second cause wher
fore this playe was founden and maad . was for to kepe
hym from ydolenesse / wherof seneque sayth vnto Lucylls
ydolenes wythout any occupation is sepulture of a man ly
uyng . and Barro saith in his sentences that in lyke wyse
as men goo not for to goo . the same wyse the lyf is not
gyuen for to lyue but for to doo Wel and good . & therefore
secondly the philosopher found this playe for to kepe the pe
ple from ydolenes . for there is moche peple whan so is that
they be fortunat in Worldly goodes that they drawe them
to ease & ydolenes wherof comyth ofte tymes many euylis
and grete synnes / and by this ydolenes the herte is quen
chyng wherof comyth good desperation . The thyrde cause is
that euery man naturelly desireth to knowe and see no
uelteetes and tydyngees . for this cause they of Athens
studyed as we rede . and for as the corporal or bodily
sight enpresyth and letteth othe . Whyle the knowleche of
subtyl thynges . Therefore we rede that democrite the

philosopher put out his other eye, For as moche as he
might haue the better entandement and vnderstondynge.
many haue ben made blinde that were grete clerkis in alle
kyngdomes as was didimus bysshop of alexandrie. that folk wel
that he sawe not. yet he was so grete a clerk that gregore
nazianzen and saynt Jerome that were clerkis and mapsters
to other cam for to be his scolers and lernyd of hym. And
saynt anthouye the grete hermyte cam for to see hym on a
tyme and amonge alle other thynges he demaunded hym
if he were not grete dyspleid that he was blinde & sawe
not. and he answered that he was grete chastyd for that
he supposid not that he was not displeid in that he had
lost his sight. and saynt anthouye answered to hym I mer
uaile moche that hit displeith the that thou hast lost that
thyng which is comyn betwene the and bestes. and thou
knowest wel that thou hast not lost that thyng that is co
myn betwene the and the aungellis. And for these causes
forsayd the philosopher entended to put a way al pensifness
and thoughtes. and to thynke onely on this playe as
shal be sayd and appere in this booke after.



The second tractate / the first chapter treateth of the forme
of a kyng of his maners & of his estate: Capitulo primo



The kyng must be thus maad . for he must sytte
in a chayer clothyd in purple / cowlbned on his head
in his right hand a ceptre and in the left hande an apple of
golde / for he is the most grettest and higest in dygnyte a
bove al othe and most worthy . And that is signyfied
by the corone . for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyte of
the kyng / and above al othe the kyng ought to be re
plenysshed with vertues and of grace . and this signyfiet
the purple . For in like wyse as the robes of purple ma
keth fayr and enbekisseth the body . the same wyse vertues

makyth the soyle . he ought alwey thynk on the gouerne-
ment of the royaume & who hath the administration of Ius-
tice and this shold be by hym self principally . This sig-
nifyeth the apparel of golde that he holdyth in his left hand ;
and for as moche as it apperteyneth vnto hym to punyshe
the rebelles hath he the scepter in his right hand . And for
as moche as mysericorde and trowth conserue and kepe the
king in his trowe . Therefore ought a king to be merciful
and debonaire . for when a king or prynce desireth or wyl
he be louyd of his peple lette hym be gouerned by debonairete
And valerius saith that debonairete perceyeth the hartes of
strangers . and amoliffeth and makyth softe the hartes
of his enemyes . Wherof he rehereth that phyllostratus that
was due of athenes had a daughter . Whom a man louyd
so ardently that on a tyme as he saue her with her moder
sodaynly he cam and kyssed her . Wherof the moder was so
angry and sorowful that she went and requyred of her lord
the due . that his heed myght be smyten of . The prynce
answared to her and sayd . yf we shold slee them that loue
vs . What shal we do to our enemyes that hate vs . Ca-
teynly this was the answer of a noble & debonaire prynce
that suffred that vylonye don to his daughter & to hym
self yet more . This prynce had also a frende that was na-
med ariste that sayd on a tyme as moche vylonye vnto
the prynce as ony man myght saye . And that myght not
suffyse hym . but he cratchid hym in the vylage . the prynce
suffryd hym patiently in such wyse as though he had don
to hym no vylonye but curtesye . And when his sonnes
wold haue auengyd this vylonye . he comaunded them

that they shold not be so hardy so to doo / The next day
folowing Arispe remembred of the right grete vylonye
that he had don to his frende and lord Without cause /
He fyl in dyspayr and wold haue slayn hym self / When
the duc lineke and vnderstood that . he cam to hym and
said ne doubt the no thyng . and swore to hym by his
faith that also wel he was and shold be his friend for the
forthon as euer he had ben tofore yf he wold . and thus he
respited hym of his wth by his donayre / and in lyke
wise redde we of the kyng pitte to whom was reported that
they of tarente had sayd grete vylonye of hym . for which
cause he maad al them to come tofore hym : demaunded
of them yf they had so said . than one of them answered :
said . yf the Wyn & the candellis had not fayled . this langa
ge had ben but a Jape . in regarde of that we had thought
to haue don / Than the kyng began to lauhe . For they
had confessed that such langage as was said and spoken
was by drunkenshyp / And for this cause of donayre
the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the drunken
men shold be punysshid . and the sobre men preyed / The
kyng thenne thus ought to loue humylyte and hate
falsyte after the holy scripture that speketh of euery man
generally . For the kyng in his royaume representeth god
& god is verite . and therefore hym ought to say no thyng
but yf hit were veritable and stable . Valerius rehereth
that Alpyandre wyth alle his ooste wold for to destroye
a cite which was namede lapsare / When than a phy
losophre which had to name anaymence which had ben
tofore maistre & gouernour of alpyandre herd : vnderstood

of his comyng, cam agayn alexander to aske and requyre
of hym. And When he sawe alexander he supposid to haue
ayde his request / Alexander broke his demaunde to frowe
and swore to hym to forre he ayde eny thyng by his goddes
that suche thyng as he ayde or requyred of hym. he wold
in no wyse don. Thanne the phylosophe: requyred hym
to destroye the cyte When Alexander vnderstood his aspre
the oth that he hath maad. he suffred the cyte to stande
and not to be destroyed. For he had leuer not to do his wyll
than to be perjured and forsworn and do agaynst his oth
Quintilian sayeth that no grette man ne lord shold not
swere. But Where as is grette nede and that the simple
parole or worde of a pryncer ought to be more stable thenne
the oth of a marchaunt. Alas Who kepe the prynces their
promyses in these dayes. not onely for promyses but their
ethes for seales and Wrytynges and signes of their pro
per handes. alle saylleth god amende hit.

A kynge also ought to hate all crueltie. For We see that
neuer dyed yet any pietous persone of cruel deeth. ne cruel
persone of good deeth / Therefore recounteth Valerius that
there Was a man namede theras a Workman in metalle,
that maad a boole of coppe and a litel Wyke on the syde
Wherby men myght put in them that shold be beent therein
And hit Was maad in suche manere. that they that
shold be put and enclosed therein shold crye no thyng
lyke to the voyce of a man but of an ore.

And thus maad he by cause men shold haue the lasse
pyte of them / When he had maad this boole of coppe.
he presentyd hit vnto a kynge Which Was called philarde

that Was so cruel a tyrant that is called in no thinge
 but in crueltye. And he tolde hym the condycion of the tale
 When philox firste and vnderstood this. he also sayd and
 praised moche the Duke and after sayd to hym thou that
 art more cruel than I am shalt assay and prove hys the
 presente and yette and so made hym to go in to the booke
 and dyd an euyl dede. Therefore sayth our author is no
 thinge more reasonable thenne that a man dyd of such dede
 as he purchaseth vnto other. Also the kyng oughte souer-
 eynly hee Justice who maketh or leueth a lawe with-
 out Justice. of any force there must be grete rebelle:
 therfore. Therefore rehereth Saint Augustyn in a booke
 whiche is intituled the ctye of god that there was a thiefe
 of the see named diomedes that was a grete roue: and
 so moche harme that the complayntes cam to fort aluand
 whiche dyd hym to be taken and brought a fore hym.
 And he demaunded hym wherfore he was so iouous and
 cruel in the see. And he answered to hym agayne. For
 as moche as thou art oon a londe in the worlde. so am I
 another in the see. But for as moche as the euyl that I
 doo is in oon galee or twayne therfore I am called a thiefe
 But for as moche as thou doest in many shippes and
 wyth grete myghte and power. Therefore art thou
 called an Emperour. But yf fortune were for
 me in suche wyse. I wold become a good man and
 better thenne I now am. But thou the more tyer and
 fortunat that thou art. The more wyse art thou
 aluand: sayd to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in
 suche wyse as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by power

but for euyl and mauayste: and so he made hym ipeche and
this was he that afterward was a good pryncer & a good
Justicia. The kyng ought to be soueraynly chaste and
this signyfeth a quene that is oonly on his right side.
For it is to be kieuyn and credyble that when the kyng
is a good man. Juste trewe and of good maners & con-
dicions that his children shal folowe gladly the same. for
a good sone and a trewe ought not to forsake and goo fro
the good condicions of his fader for certes it is agaynst
god and nature in partye when a man taketh other thens
his proper wyf, and that see we by byrdes. of whom the
male and female haue to gyde the charge in keeping and
nourishyng of their yonge folles and brydes. For semme
maner of folles liuen them to their females oonly. As
hil apereth by scotches dobes and turtles. But the fol-
les that nourish not their brydes haue many wyues and
femles. As the cok that no thing nourisheth his chikens
And therfore amonge al the bestes that liuen man and
woman puteth most then entence and haue most cur-
charge in nourishyng of their children. & therfore on they
agaynst nature in partye when they leue their wyues for
other women of this chaste treweith valerius an exaple
& saith that ther was a man of some whiche was named
sopio affrica for as much as he had conquered affrique whiche
wel that he was of some born. When he was of certain yere
of age he conquered cartage & toke muche people in estage
among whom he was presented with a right faire mayde
for his solas & plaisur which was assured & handfast vnto
a noble yonge gentelman of cartage which was named

Indiuidible and anon as this gentil sapio linede that
 not Withstondyng that he Was a pryncer noble & lusty/dyd
 do calle anon the parentes & kynnesmen of them : deliuerd
 to them their doughter With out doynge of ony bylonye to
 her : And the raunson or gold that they had ordeyned
 for their doughter : gaf hit euery del in dolhair to her .
 and the yonge man that Was her husband save the fran
 chise & gentilnes of hym tomed hym self and the lasses
 of the noble peple vnto the loue : alliaunce of the comay
 nes : & this suffisith as touchyng the kyng

The second chapitre of the second booke and tretith of the
 forme and maners of the quene capitale seconde



Thus ought the quene be maad / She ought to be
t a fayr lady sittynge in a chayer and crowned With a
corone on her heed and cladde With a cloth of gold and a
mantel aboue furred With ermynes, and she shold sitte on
the left side of the kynge for the amplexions and embrasyn
ges of her husband like as it is sayd in Scripture in the
Canticles. her left arme shal be ~~under~~ my heed and her
right arme shal beclype and embrace me. In that she is
sette on his left side is by grace geuyn to the kynge by
nature and of right. For better is to haue a kynge by
successyon thenne by election, For often tymes the elec
teurs and chosers can not ne wyll not accorde / And
so is the election left, And otherwhyle they chuse not the
best and most able and conuenient / But hym that they
best loue, or is for them most proffitable.

But when the kynge is by liaguage and by trewe succes
sion. He is taught enseigned and norissht in hys
youth all good and vertuous catches and maners of his
fader. And also the prynces of the royaume dar not so
hardly meue warre agaynst a kynge hauing a sone for
to rigne after hym / and so a quene ought to be chaste
wyse. of honest lyf. Wel manerd and not Curious in
norisshtynge of her chyldren, Her wysedom ought not
onely to appere in fait and werkes / but also in spelyng
that is to wote that she be secrete and telle not suche
thynges as ought to be holden secrete.

Wherefore it is a comyn prouerbe that Women can kepe
no counceyl / And accordynge thereto Macrobius reherceth
in the booke of the dreames of Scypio. That there was

a chylde of rome that was named papirus that on a tyme
Went With his fader Whych Was a senatour in to the cham
bre Where as they helde theyr councyl. And that tyme
they spake of such matters as was comaunded and a
greedy shold be kepte secret vpon payn of theyr liues
and so departed. And When he Was comen home from the
senatoure and fro the councyl Wyth his fader. His mo
der demaunded of hym What Was the councyl and Wherof
they spake and had taryed so longe there. And the
chylde answered to her and sayd he durst not telle nor
saye hit for so moche as hit Was defended vpon payn of
deth. Therne Was the moder more desirous to knowe
than she Was to fore. And began to flatter hym one
tyme. And afterwarde to menace hym that he shold
saye and telle to her What it Was. And When the
chylde sawe that he myght haue no rest of his moder in
no wyse. He made her first promyse that she shold keepe
hit secreete. And to telle hit to noon of the world.
And that won, he feyned a lesing or a lye and sayd
to her that the Senatours had in councyl a grete questi
on and dyffERENCE Whiche Was this, Whether hit Were
better and more for the comyn wele of Rome, that a man
shold haue two Wyues / Or a Wyf to haue two hus
bondes. And When she had vnderstode this, He
defended her that she shold telle hit to none other body.
And after this she went to her gossypes and tolde to her
this councyll secreetly. And she tolde to another.
And thus every Wyf tolde hit to other in secreete: thus
hit happend anon after that alle the Wyues of Rome

cam to the senatours wher the senatours were assemblyd
and cryed With an hygh voyce . that they had leuer / And
also hit were better for the comyn wel that a Wyf shold
haue two husbandes than a man two Wyues , The sena-
tours hearyng this were greatly abussyd and wist not
to say , nor what nor how to answer , tyl atte laste that
the chylde papir refered to them all the cases and sayd how
hit was happend . And when the senatours herd and un-
derstood the matter they were greatly abussyd & comendyd
greatly the Ingenye and wytt of the chylde that so wysely
contrived the lye rather than he wold discover their coun-
ceyl . And forthwith made hym a senatour and establis-
shed and ordeyned fro then forthon that no chylde in any
wise shold entre in to the couceyl howe amonge them With
their fathers except papirus . Whome they wold that he shold
alwey be amonge them . Also a quene ought to be chaste
For as she is above al other in estate and reuerence . So
shold she be ensauple vnto al other in her luyving honest
lye . Wherof Jerome writeth agaynst Jonnyan . that
there was a gentyl man of rome named duele and this
man was he that first found the maner to fight on the wa-
ter and had first the victorie / This duele had to his Wyf
one of the best Women and so chaste . that every Woman
myght take ensauple of her / and at that tyme the synne
of the fleshe was the greatest synne that any myght do
agaynst nature / And this sayd good Woman was named
plie . And so hit happend that this duele became so olde that
he stowed and quaked for age . and on a tyme one of his
aduersayres reprevyd & reprochyd hym sayeng that he had

a stynkyng breeth. And forthwith he went home to hys
Wif al angry and abasshyd' and ayed her why: wherefore
she had not tolde his default to hym that he myght haue
founden remedye to haue ben purgyd therof: she answered
that as for as moche as she supposyd that every man had
the same faute as wel as he, for she kyst neuer any man
nes mouth but her husbandes. O moche was this woman
to be praysed and haue a synfuler lawe whereby that
this default had not ben onely in her husband, wherefore she
suffryd hit patiently, in suche wise that her husband liued
his default sonner by other thenne by her. Also we read
that there was a woman named Anna which had a
frende that counseyllid her to marrie. for she was yonge
fayr and ryche, to whom she answered that she wold not
so doo in no wise, for yf I shold haue an husband as I
haue had & that he were as good as he was. I shold eu
er ben aferd to lose hym, lyke as I lost that other: & thenne
shold I lyue alwey in fere and drede, which I wyl not.
And yf hit happend me to haue a worse. What shold hit
proffyte me to haue an enyl husband after a good, and
so she concluded that she wold kepe her chastete. Saine
Austyn reherceth in the booke de ciuitate dei that in roma
was a noble lady gentyl of maners and of hygh kynrede
named lucretia, And had an husband named Colatyn:
Whiche desired on a tyme the Emperours sone named tor
quyne thorguyllous or the proude and he was calle sight
for to come dyne and sporte hym in his castel or manoir
And when he was entred amonge many noble ladies he
saw lucretia. And when thys emperours sone had seyn &

aduertysed he: departed. her countenance. her manere. &
her traucte. he was all rauysshed and espyed wyth her
loue forthwyth. And espyed a tyme when her husbond
Collatyn wente vnto the oost of themperour. and cam
in to the place where as lucrese was wyth her felawshyp
whom she receyued honourably. And when tyme came to
goe to bedde and slepe she maad redy a bedde rially for hym
as his aweterned to the emperoure sone. And this nyght
espyed whete lucrecia laye. and when he supposid a knele
that euery body was in his first sleep. he cam vnto the
bedde of lucrese and ther: one hand sette on her breste and
in that other hande a natyrd swete. and sayde to her. Lu
crese wote thy woe and crye not. For I am fyrte ear
quene sone. for yf thou speke any word thou shalt be
deid. and for fere she held her woe. Thene he began to
pryse and promyse many thynges. and after he menaced
and threwned her that she shold encline to hym to doo his
will. and when he sawe he coude not myght haue his en
dewe he sayde to her. yf thou do not my wille. I shal slee
the and one of the seruantes and shal lay hym alle aro
p the pye. And whene I shal see that I haue slayn you
for your rebauyshe. and lucrese that than wailed more
the shame of the world than the deid. consented to hym.
And anon after as the emperoure sone was awaked.
the lady sent letters to her husbond her fader her brother
and to her friends and to a many other. And whan they
came they were angry. and sayde to hym. that yf thou
haddest the emperoure sone with in to myn house as an ene
mye in chynce of a friende. and haddest myn. And

knowe thou Colatyn that he hath dishonoured thy body,
(And howe well that he hath soiled and dishonoured my bo-
dy . yet myn herte is not Why:fore I beseeche the of pardon
forpynnes and absolution of the trespass but not of the
payne . And he that hath won thyng synne to me but fal-
len to his myschaunce of ye wo your deuote . and because
no woman take ensaumples of Lucrece and loue after the
trespass . but that she in Lyke wyse take ensaumples also of
the payne . And forthwith with a swerde that she cutte
vnder her golde or robe . she wof her self vnto the herte
And dyed forthwith tofore them . and thence came the
counceyllers and her husband collatyn and alle her other
frendes swore by the blood of Lucrece that they wold ne-
uer rest vnto the tyme that they had put out of Rome tar-
quyn and al his kynne . And that neuer after none of
them shold come to dygryte . and al this was doon . for
they liue the tres wyse thurgh the eye and memory the
peple in such wyse . That tarquyn was put in exile . and
Pyrrus his sone was slayn . A quene ought to be dis-
maied and amonge alle she ought to be amorous and
sternfast . For when a woman hath lost chastitee
she may not any more be chaste . Why:fore sayth Py-
rrus that they that haue lost chastitee haue no consa-
unce of honour . And Agnes androse sayth that one of
the best parmenters and maides a woman most praye in
her person . is to be chastitee . Seneca sayth that
when with one name a man doth doo so chastitee
that he put in a whole of filders a caryn some of
money . and yet he vnder the face of a good friend of

aduertysed her wyrtues . her countenauice . her manere . &
her traucte . he was alke rauysshed and espyed wyth her
loue forthwyth . And espyed a tyme when her husbond
Collatyn wente vnto the oost of the emperour . and cam
in to the place where as lucrese was with her felawshyp
whom she receyued honourably . And when tyme came to
goe to bedde and slepe she maad redy a bedde rially for hym
as hit apperteyned to the emperours sone . And this sycarus
espyed where lucrecia laye . and when he supposid & linede
that euery body was in his first sleep . he cam vnto the
bedde of lucrese and that one hand sette on her breste and
in that other hande a naked swerd . and sayd to her . Lu/
crese holde thy pees and crye not . For I am sycarus
quynus sone . for yf thou speke any word thou shalt be
dew / and for fere she helde her pees . Thene he began to
praye and promyse many thynges . and after he menaced
and threatened her that she shold encline to hym to doo his
wyll . and when he sawe he coude nor myght haue his en/
tente he sayd to her / yf thou do not my wyll / I shal slee
the and one of thy seruantis and shal lay hym alle ded
by thy syde . And thenne I shal say that I haue slayn you
for your rybaudrye . and lucrese that than doubted more
the shame of the worlde than the deth . consentyd to hym /
And anone after as the emperours sone was departed .
the lady sent letters to her husbond her fader her brethern
and to her frendes and to a man allyd state counceyllour
and newe be to tarquyn / and sayd to them that yestoday
Sycarus the emperours sone cam in to myn howes as an ene/
mye in lyknes of a frenche . and hath oppressed me . And

knowe thou Colatyn that he hath dishonoured thy bedde,
And howe well that he hath soyled and dishonoured my bo-
dy. yet myn herte is not. Wherefore I beseeche the of pardon
forgetnes and absolucion of the trespass but not of the
payne. And he that hath done this synne to me hit shal
len to his myschaunce yf ye doo your deuote. and by cause
no Woman take ensauple of lucreesse and lyue after the
trespass. but that she in lyke wyse take ensauple also of
the payne. And forthwith with a swerde that she helde
vnder her gowne or robe. she roof her self vnto the herte
And deyd forthwith tofore them. and thence came the
counceyller and her husband collatyn and alle her other
frendes swore by the blood of lucreesse that they wold ne-
uer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of Rome the
quyn and al his kyng. And that neuer after none of
them shold come to dygnite. and al this was don. For
they bare the deed corpe through the cite and meuryd the
peple in such wyse. That tarquyn was put in exyle. and
Spyte his sone was slayn. A quene ought to be well
manerd and amonge alle she ought to be courteous and
shamefast / For when a Woman hath lost shamefastnes
she may ner can not well be chaste. Wherefore sayth Sy-
machus that they that ken not shamefast haue no consci-
ence of luytys. And saynt ambrose sayth that one of
the best pamentes and maketh a Woman most fayr in
her person. is to be shamefast. Senecus referreth that
there was one named atchylle which was so shamefast
that she put in a pelowe of fetheres a certeyn somme of
money. and put hit vnder the feed of a poure frende of

herpys . Whiche dyssembled his pouerte and? Wolde not nor
durst not be a knowen of his pouerte . for shame he durst
not geue it openly . but had leue that he shold synce hys
than that he had geuen hit hym . Wherefore other while men
shold geue & helpe her fowndes so secretly . that they knowe
not whens it come . for whan we kepe it secret and? make
no hoste therof . our dedes and? wakeres shal please god and
them also . A Quene ought to be chosen whan she shal be
weddyd of the moste honest kynrede and? peple / for often tyme
the doughteres folowen the tatches & maners of theym
that they be? dyscended from . Wherof Valerius maximus
sayth that there was one that wold marie . Whiche cam to
a philosopher and? asyd counceyl what wyf he myght best
take . he answered that he shold take her that thou knowest
certeynly that her moder & her graunt dame haue ben chaste
and? wel condycioned . for such moder / such doughter co?
munely / Also a quene ought to teche her chyl dren to ben
contynent and? kepe chastite entierly . as hit is wyten in
ecclesiastes . yf thou haue sonnes enseigne and? teche them
and? yf thou haue doughteres kepe wel them in chastite .

For helmonde reheryth that euery kynge & pryncce ought
to be a clerk for to comaunde to other to studie and? rede
the salbe of our lord? god . and? therefore wrote the myprouz
to the kynge of fraunce that he shold so lerne his children
sones the seuen sciences liberal . and? sayd? amonge other
thynges that a kynge not lettrid resembleth an asse cor?
ned / The myprouz octou can maad his sonnes to be taught
and? lerne to wrytme . to . sprynge and? lepe / to Juste / to
playe wyth the ape and? berde . and? al maner thyng that

aperteyneth to a knyght and his daughters he made hem
to lerne to sewe . to spynne to labour as wel in wolle as
in linnen cloth . and al other Werkis langyng to Women .
And Whan his frendes demaunded Wherfore he dyd so . he
answered how wel that he was lord and Syre of alle the
World . yet wyfte he not what shold befall of his children
and Whether they shold falle or come to pouerte or noo /
and therefore yf they conne a good crafte they may alwey
lyue honestly . The quene ought to kepe her daughters in
alle chastyte . For we rede of many maydens that for their
Virgynyte haue ben maad quenes . For Poule the hysto-
riagraph of the lombardis reherceth that ther was a du-
chesse named remonde which had thre sonnes & n daughters
And hit happend that the kynge of longrys cantauus as
sayled a castel Where she and her chylddren were June
And on a day she behelde her enemyes . and amonge alle
other she sawe the kyng that he was a wel faryng and a
goodly man . Anone she was espyred and taken wyth
his loue . and that se fore that forthwyth she sent to hym
that she wold deliuer ouer the castel to hym yf he wold
take her to his wyf and wedde her . And he agreed thereto
and sware that he wold haue her to his wyf on that con-
dicion . Whan than the kyng was in the castel his peple
took men and women and alle that they fonde her sonnes
fledde from her / of whome one was named Emealdus
was yongest . and after was duc of loucuentan : sitbon
kyng of the lombardis / and the two susters toke chy-
liens and put hem vnder her armes next the flesch and
bytvene her papper / that of the herte and chauffyng the

flessh of the chikynes stanke and When so Was that they
of hongrys Wold haue enforced and defouled anone they
felte the stence and fled a Wey and so lefte hem sayeng
fy hold these lombardis strake . and so they kepte there
virgynite . Wherfore that one of hem after Ward Was
quene of frunce / and that other quene of almayn and
hit happend thenne that the kyng caranus toke acordyng
to his promyse the duchesse / and lay Wyth her one nyght
for to saue his ooth . & on the morne he made her comune
vnto al the hongres / And the thyrday after he dyd doo
put a staf of trece fro the nether parte of her . thraugh her
body vnto her throte or mouthe . for by cause of the luste
of her flessh she betrayed her cyte and sayd such husbond
such Wyf . and this suffyseth of the quene



The thyrde chapytre of the secondy trapyte treteth of the
 Alphyns her offyces and maners capitulo tricio.



The alphyns ought to be maad and formed in mane
 re of Judges sityng in a chayer With a booke open
 tofore theyr eyen, and that is by cause that some caused
 ben crymynel, And some ben cruyle as about possessions
 and othere temporel thynges and trespasses / and therefore
 ought to be two Judges in the royaume / one in the blacke
 for the first cause, And that other in White as for the se-
 condy. Theyr offyce is for to counceylle the kyng. And
 to make by his comasidementis good salwes : to enforme

alle the wyame in good and vertuous maners . And to
Juge and gyue sentence Wel and trewly after the case is
had . and to counceyl Wel and Justely alle them that axe
counceyl of hem . Wyth out haupnyng of ony eye opens to
ony persone . And to estudye diligently in suche Wyse and
to ordigne alle that, that ought to be kept be obseruyd be
faste and stable . So that they be not founde corrupt . for
yeste for fauour ne for signage ne for enuye variabill .
And as touchyng the first point Seneque saith in the
book of benefites that the poyr diogenes Was more strong
than alexandre / For Alexandre coude not gyue so moche
as diogenes Wold refuse . Marcus cursus a romayn of
grette renomee saith thus . that When he had besieged and
assayled them of Samente / and beneuentane Which hee
that he Was poyr . they took a grette masse and Wedge
of gold . and sendyd hit to hym prayeng hym that he Wold
reserue hit and leue his assault and siege . and When they
came With the present to hym they found hym sittynge on
the erthe and ete his mete out of platres and dysshes of
tree and of Wox . and did than her message / to Whom he
answerd and said that they shold goo home and saye to
them that sente them that Marcus cursus loueth better
to be lord and Wyne riches than riches shold Wyne
hym . For by batayle he shal not be ouercome and Wyne ;
quysshed / nor by gold ne siluer he shal not be corrupt ne
corrupted . Oftentimes that thyng taketh an euill ende
that is vntrewe for gold and siluer . and that a man is
subget vnto money may not be lord thereof / Thelymondy
resereth that demostene remaied of aristodone how moche

he had Wonne for pletynge of a cause for hys client And
he answered a mark of gold. Demostene answered to
hym agayn/ that he had Wonne as moche for to holde hys
pees and speke not thus the tungen of aduocates & men
of lawe be y perilous & domegeable. yet they must be had
yf thou wolt Wynne thy cause. for With money and yeste
thou shalt Wynne. & oftentymes they selle as wel thys
silence /as their vtteraunce. Valerius rehereth that the se
natours of rome took counceyl to geve of t wo persons
that one was pure & that other rich and couetous, Whiche
of hem bothe were most apte for to sende to gouerne and
Iuge the contrey of spayn. And sappon of affrique saide
that none of hem bothe were good ne profitable to be
sent thider. For that one hath no thynge. And to that
other may no thynge suffyse. And desposed in hys
sayenge alle pouerte and auarice in a Iuge. For a co
uetous man hath nede of an halpenny. for he is seruaunt
and bonde vnto money / and not lord thereof but pouerte
of herte and of Wyll ought to be greatly allowed in a
Iuge. Therefore we see that as longe as the Romans
luyde pouerte they were lordes of alle the world. For
many there were that exposed al theyr goodes for the co
myn wel. and for that was most profitable for the co
mynalte that they were so pure that when they were dede
they were buryed and brought to erthe With the co
myn good. And theyr daughters were maryed by
the comaundement of the senatours. but sithon that they
despised pouerte / & begonne to gadre riches. & haue made
grette bataylles. they haue vsed many synnes and so the

comyn Wele perished / for ther is no synne but that it reig
neth there. there is none that is so blissful as he that hath
al the World in despite / For he is in pees that dredith no
man / & he is rich that coueyteth no thyng / Valere wryteth
that he is not rich that mocke hath / but he is rich that hath
lityl & coueyteth no thyng / than thus late the Judges take
hede that they enclyne not for loue or for hate in any Ju
gement for theofrast saith that all loue is blynde . there
loue is . there can not right Jugement be gyuen . for all
loue is blynde . and therefore loue is none eyn Judge for
ofte tymes loue Jugeth a folle and lothly Woman to be
fayr / And so wryteth quinte curse in his first booke that
the grete godachis saith the same to Alxandre / Men
may saye in this caas that nature is euyl / For euery
man is lasse aduysed and worse in his owne feet and
cause than in another mannes . And therefore the Judges
ought to kepe hem wel from Jre in Jugement, Tullyus
saith that an angry and prouis persone beneth that for
to do euyl is good councyl / and soerates saith that two
thynges ben contrarious to councyl / & they ben hastynes
and wrath . and galeren saith in alexandrye , yf pre or
Wrath outcome the . When thou sholdest geue Jugement ,
Weye all thyng in the balaunce so that thy Jugement be
not enclyned by loue ne by yest . ne fauour of persone for
ne not thy courage . Thelemond wryteth that cambyseo
kyng of perce whiche was a right wis kyng had an vn /
right wis Judge whiche for enye & euyl Wyll had dāpned
a man Wrongfully and agaynst right / Wherefore he dyd
hym to be flayn al quyk and made the chayer or siege of

Jugement to be couerid With his skyn/and made his sone
Juge and to sitte in the chayer on the skyn of his fader. to
thende that the sone shold Juge rightwisly / & abhorre the
Jugement & payne of his fader. Judges ought to punyshe
the defaultes equally / & fulfille the lawe that they ordeyne.
Caton saith accomplishe and do the lawe in such wyse as
thou hast ordeigned & geuen / Valerius reherceth that calen
gius a consul had a sone whiche was taken in aduoltrye
& therfore after the lawe at that tyme he was dampned to
lose bothe his eyen. the fader wold that the lawe shold be
accomplished in his sone wyth out fauour. but al the cite
was meynd herwyth and wold not suffer hit / but in the
ende his fader was vniuersally by theyr prayers. And
ordyned that his sone shold lese one eye whiche was put
out. And he hym self lost an other eye. And thus
was the lawe obseruyd and kept. And the prayer of
the people was accomplished. We reade that there was
a councyllour of rome that had geuen counsaile to ma
ke a statute that who some eny that entred in to the se
natoyr and a swerde girt aboute hym shold be ded. Than
hit happend on a tyme that he came from without & entrid
in to the senatoir & his swerd girt about hym. Wherof he
tolde none he & one of the senatours told hym of hit / &
whan he knewe hit & remembred the statute he drew out his
swerde & slewe hym self tofore them. rather to dye than to
breke the lawe / for whos sake al the senatours made
greate sorowe / But alas we fynde not many in these day
es that so do. But they do lyke as anastasyus saith that
the lawes of some ben like vnto the nettie of syncope

that take no grette bestes and fowles but let goo and flee
thruugh/ but they take flyes & gnattes & such smale thyn/
ges / In like wise the lawes now adayes ben not execu/
ted but vpon the poure peple • the grette & rich breke hit &
goo thruugh With al / and for this cause souden bitulles &
discordes & make the grette & rich men to take by force &
strength the lordshippes & seignories vpon the smale & poure
peple / & this don they specially that ben gentil of lignage
& poure of goodes / & causeth them to rebel & rue / and yet
constrayne them by force to serue them, & thys is no mar/
uayle for they that drede not to angre god, ner to breke
the lawe : to false hit / false often tymes by force in moche
curfones & wickednes, but whan the grette peple do accor/
dyng to the lawe, and punyshe the transgressours sharps/
ly / The comyn peple absteyne & withdraue hem fro doynge
of euyl and chastiseth hem self by theyr example • And
the Judges ought to entende for to studye. For yf the
 Smythes the carpentiers the Vignours and other crafty/
men say that it is not necessarye to studye for the comyn
proffit / And glorefye them in their conyng and say that
they ben profitable • than shold the Judges studye and con/
templaire moche more than they in that that shold be for
the comyn Wele. Wherefore saith senekie beleue me that they
seme that they do no thyng / they do more than they that
laboure for they do spiritual & also corporal Werkes. And
therefore amōge artificers ther is no pleasant rest but that
reson of the Judges hath maad & ordeyned hit. & therefore
angelus saith in / li / atticoz de socrate, that socrate was
on a tyme so pensif that in an hōle naturel day, he held one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but
Was as he had ben ded or raugstred, and When one demaū
ed hym Wherefore he Was so pensif. he answered in al World
ly thynges and labours of the same and he had hym four
geys and Cytizeyn of the World / and Valerius rehercheth
that carnarwes a knyght Was so sage Wyse and laborous
in pensifnes of the comyn Wele / that When he Was sette
atte table for to ete, he forgate to put his hand vnto the
mete to fede hym self / and therefore his Wyf that Was na
med Mellyse Whom he had taken more to haue her compa
nye and felawshyp than for any other thyng / Fedde
hym to thende that he shold not dye for hongre in his pen
sifnes. Didimus sayd to alexandre We be not dysseyns
in the World but straungers / nor We ben not born in the
World for to dwelle and abyde alwey therein. but for to
goo and passe thraugh hit. We haue doon noon euyl dede.
but that it is worthy, to be punysshed: We to suffre payne
therefore and thence We may goon with open face: good
conscience. And so may We goo lightly and apertly the
Way that We hope and purpose to goo. Thys suffyseth as
for the Alphyns /

The fourth chapitre of the second booke treateth of the ordre
of chualere and knyghthode and of her offyces and
maners capitulo quarto



The knyght ought to be maad al armed vpon an
t hors in such wise that he haue an helme on his head
and a speere in his right hond / & couered With his sheldre, a
swerd & a mace on his lyft syde . clad With an hauberk &
plates tofore his braste . legge barnoyes on his legges . spo
res on his heles . on hys handes hys gaunteletes . hys
hors wel broken & taught and apte to bataylle & coueryd
With hys armes . When the knyghtes ben maad they ben
bapned or bathed . That is the signe that they shold be lede

a newe lye and newe maners . also they wake alle the
nyght in prayers and orisons vnto god that he wil geue
him grace that they may gete that thyng that they may
not gete by nature . The kynge or pryncce giveth & boude
them a swerde in signe that they shold abyde and kepe
hym of Whom they take their dispence and dignyte .
Also a knyght ought to be wyse lyberalle / traue. strong
and ful of mercy and pyte and kepar of the peple and of
the lawe / and right as chualye passeth other in vertue
in dignyte in honour and in reuerence / right so ought he
to surmounte alle other in vertue. for honour is no thyng
ellys but to do reuerence to another persone for the good &
vertuous disposicion that is in hym . A noble knyght
ought to be wyse and prouyd tofore he be maad knyght .
hit behoued hym that he had long tyme vnder the warre &
armes . that he may be expert and wyse for to gouerne
the other / For sithyn that a knyght is capitayn of a ba
tyle . the lye of them that shal be vnder hym spech in his
honour / and thefore behoueth hym to be wyse & wel adui
sed . For somtyme art craft and engyne is more worthe
than strengthe or hardynesse of a man that is not proued
in armes / for other while it hapeth that when the prynces
of the batayle affyeth and trusteth in his hardynesse and
strengthe and wol not vse wisdom and engyne for to
renne vpon his enemyes / he is vnyquysshed & his peple
slayn . therefore saith the philosopher that no man shold
chese yong peple to be captayns & gouernours for as moche
as ther is no certeynte in his wisdom / alexandre of macedon
was vnyquysshed & conquered Egipte / Jude / calde & Affrique
c iij

and assyrie vnto the marches of bragmanis more by the
counceyl of olde men than by the strengthe of the yong
men. We re in the hystorie ofrome that there was a
knyghte which had to name malechete that was so wyse &
trewe that whan the emperour Theodosius was dede. He
made mortal warre agens his brother germain which was
named Gylas or Guye. for as moche as this sayd guye
wold be lord of affrique with out leue and wyll of the se:
natours / and thys sayd Guy had slayn the two sones of
his brother malechete, And dyd moche torment vnto the
cristen peple. and afore that he shold come in to the felde
agens his brother Guyon. he went in to an yle of capayne
and lader with hym al the cristen men, that had ben sent
theder in exyle. And maad hym alle to praye with hym
by the space of thre dayes and thre nyghtes. For he had
grette affaunce and traste in the prayers and orisons of
good folke and specially that no man myght counceyl ne
helpe but god / And thre dayes tofore he shold fight saynt
Ambrose which was dede a litil tofore apperyd to hym &
shewed hym by reuelacion the tyme and howe that he shold
haue victorie. And for so moche as he had ben in dayes
and thre nyghtes in oryson & prayers and that he was
assured for to haue victorie. he faught wyth fyue thou:
sand men agens his brother that had in his compaigne four
score thousand men. and by goddes helpe he had victorie
And whan the barbarys that were comen to helpe guyon
saw the discomfiture they fledde a they. And guyon fledde
also in to affrique by shyppe. And whan he was there a:
ryued he was sone after strangled. These two knyghtes

of Whom I speke Were two brethren germanus. Whiche
Were sent in to affraie for to defende the comyn Wele.
In lyke wyse Judas machabeus Jonathas and Symon
his brethren put them self in the maye and garde of our
lord god, And agayn the enemyes of the laue of god
With litil people in regarde of the multitude that Were a
gayn them, And had also victorie / The knyghtes
ought to ben trewe to theyr prynces. For he that is not
trewe lesyth the name of a knyght. Vnto a pryncce trouth
is the grettest precious stone Whan hit is medled wyth
Justyce. Maule the historiagraph of the lombardes relateth
that there Was a knyght named Enulphus; Was
of the cyte of pappe that Was so trewe and faythful to
his lord and kynge named patharich that he put hym in
parylle of deth for hym. For hit happend that Geymalde
duc of buncuentaynes of Whom we haue touched tofore in
the chapytre of the quene. dyd so slea Godbert Whiche
Was kynge of the lombardes by the hande of godbert duc
of tarente / Whiche Was descended of the crowne of lom
bardes. And this geymalde Was maad kynge of lombardes
in his place and after this put and banysht out of
the contraye this patharich Whiche Was brother vnto the
kynge Godbert. that for fere and drede fledde in to feng
rye. And thenne this knyght enulphus dyd so moche
that he gat the pees agayn of his lord patharich agaynst
the kynge geymalde. And that he had licence to come
out of hongrye where he Was alwey in parylle. and so he
came and cryed hym mercy / And the kynge Geymalde
gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contraye

alwey forſeen that he took not vpon hym & named hym
ſelf kyng. How wel he was kyng by right / This doon
a litel while after / the kyng that beleuyd euyl tonges /
thought in hym ſelf how he myght brynge this pathariche
vnto the deth . and al thys knewe wel the kynght Enul
phus . Which came the ſame nyght wyth his ſquyer for to
viſite his lord . and maad hye ſquyer to vnclothe hym &
to lye in the bedde of his lord and maad his lord to riſe
and clothe hym wyth the clothes of his ſquyer / And in
this wyſe brought hym out . braublyng and kelyng hym
as his ſeruaunt by them that were aſigned to kepe the
holde of patharich that he ſhould not eſcape . Which ſuppoſed
that hit had ben his ſquyer that he entreated ſo outragy
ouſly . and ſo he brought hym vnto his holde which Joy
ned wyth the Waller of the town . And at mydnyght
When al men were a ſleepe . he let a down his maiſtre by a
corde . Which took an hors out of the paſture and fledde
vnto the cite of aſt & there cam to the kyng of fraunce
And When it cam vnto the morne hit was founden that
enulphus and his ſquyer had deceyued the kyng and the
Watchemen . Whom the kyng comaunded ſhould be brought
tofore hym / and demaunded of them the maner how he
was eſcapyd . and they tolde hym the trouthe / Thanne
the kyng demaunded his counceyl of what deth they had de
ſeruyd to dye that had ſo don and brought agayn the
Wylle of hym . Somme ſaid that they ſhould ben honged
& ſome ſaid they ſhould be ſlapyd and other ſaid that they
ſhould be beheaded . Than ſaid the kyng by that lord that
maad me . they ben not worthy to dye . but for to haue

moche Worshyp and honour, For they haue ben trewe to
theyr lord. Wherefore the kynge gaf hem a grette salwe: and
honour for theyr feyt. And after hit happend that the pro
pre squyer and seruaunt of Godeberd slewe the trayter
Gorybalde that by treason had slayn his lord at a feste
of Saynt John in his cyte of tarente Wherof he was lord
and duc. Thus ought the knyghtes to loue to gyde, &
eche to put his lyf in auenture for other. For so ben they
the stronger and the more doubte. Lyke as were the no
ble knyghtes Joab and abysay that fought agaynst the
Izyens and amonytes and were so trewe that one to that
other that they raynquysshed theyr enemyes. And were
so ioynd to gyde that yf the frends were stronger thene
that one of them. that other helpe hym. We re that
damon and phisias were so right purfright frendes to gy
de that Whan dionysius Whiche was kynge of zealle had
Jugged one to deth for his trespass in the cyte of siracu:
sane Whom he wold haue executed. he desired grace: & leue
to goo in to his contree for to dispose and ordeyne his testa
ment. And his felawe pledged hym and was secrete for
hym vpon his heed that he shold come agayn Wherof they
that herde and sawe this: helde hym for a fool: & blamed
hym. And he sayd alwey that he repentyd hym no thyng
at all. For he knewe wel the trowth of his felawe: and
Whan the day cam and the howre that execution shold be
don, his felawe cam and presentyd hym self tofore the
Juge. and dischargid his felawe that was pledge for hym
Wherof the kynge was gretely aussyd, and for the grette
trowth that was founden in hym: he pardonyd hym and

prayed hem bothe that they wold receyue hym as theyre
grette frende and felowe . so her the vertues of loue . that
a man ought not to doubt the deeth for his frende / So
What it is to doo for a frende . and to lede a lyf wthout any /
and to be wthout cruelte . to loue & not to hate / Whiche
causeth to doo good ayenst euyl . and to toorne payne in to
benefyte and to quench cruelte . Anthonyus sayth that
Julius cesar lefte not lightly frendshyp and amptye /
But whan he had hit . he receyued hit faste & mayntened
hit alwey . Scipion of affrique saith that there is no
thyng so stronge as for to maynteyne loue vnto the deeth
The loue of concupiscence and of lecherie is sone dissol-
uyd and broken . but the verray trewe loue of the comyn
wele and proffyt now a dayes is seld founden . Where shal
thou fynde a man in thys dayes that wyl expose hym self
for the welesshyp & honour of his frende . or for the comyn
wele . seld or neuer shal he be founden . also the knyghtes
shold be large and liberal / For whan a knyght hath re-
garde vnto his synghuler proffyt by his couetyse . he dys-
payneth his peple / For whan the souldoyers se that they
put hem in peryl . and their mayster wyl not paye hem
theyr wages liberally / but entendeth to his owne propre
gayn and proffyt . than whan the enemyes come they
toorne sone for backes and flee often tymes / And thus hit
happeth by hym that entendeth more to gete money than
victorye that his auarice is often tymes cause of his con-
fusion / Therne lete euery knyght take heed to be libérale
in such wyse that he wene not ne suppose that his scharette
be to hym a grette wyngynge or gayn / And for this cause

he be the lasse louyd of his peple . and that his aduersa-
rye Wythdraue to hym them by large geuyng . For ofte
tyme batayle is auanced more for getyng of siluer . than
by the force and strengthe of men . For men see alle day
that suche thynges as may not be achyueyd by force of
nature . ben gotten and achyueyd by force of moner . And
for so moche it behoueth to see wel to that When the tyme
of bataille cometh that he howe not ne make no taplage
7 For no man may be rich that leuyth his owne lepyng
to gete and take of other / Than alwey al for gann and
Wythwyng ought to be comyn among except there armes
7 For in like wyse as the victarye is comune so shold the
dispoyle and loyte be comune vnto them . And therefore
dauyd that genyrl knyght in the first booke of kynges in
the last chapytre made a lawe . that he that alowd lyfende
by maladye or sekenees in the tentes shold haue as much
parte of the butyn as he that had ben in the batayle . And
for the loue of this lawe he was maad afterwarde kynge
of Israel . Alixandre of macedone cam on a tyme to
a symple knyght vnto the court of paris kynge of France
for to espye thastate of the kyng and of the knyghtes of
the court . And the kyng receyued hym right welshypp-
fully . And demaunded of hym many thynges of Alex-
ander and of his constance and strengthe . nothing be-
nyng that he had ben alexander / but antygone one of
his knyghtes . and after he had hym to dyner . and When
they had seruyd alexander in vessayl of gold and siluer
With dyuerse metres . After that he had eten such as pleased
hym he voyced the mete & toke the vessayl and helde hit to

hym self and put hit in his besoy or sleups. Wherof he
was accusid vnto the kyng. After wynter thine the kyng
callid hym and demaunded hym Wherfore he had taken hys
wayssayl and he answered. Sir kyng my lord I pray the
to vnderstonde and take heed thy self & also thy knyghtes
I haue herd moche of thy grette hyghnes and that thou
art more myghty and puyssaunt in cheualrye and in dis
pencies than is Alixander. and therefore I am come to the
a poure knyght whiche am named Antygone for to serue
the. Than hit is the custome in the court of Alexander
that what thyng a knyght is seruyd wyth. alle is hys
mete and wyssel and cuppe. and therefore I had supposid
that this custome had ben kept in thy court. for thou art
richer than he. When the knyghtes herde this. anon they
lefte payes. and went to serue Alixander. and thus he
drew to hym the hertes of hem by pestes. Whiche after
ward slewe payes that was kyng of ynde. and they maad
Alixander kyng therof. Therefore remembre knyght
alwey that wyth a closid and shette purse shalt thou neuer
haue victorie. Ouzar saith that he that taketh pestes. he
is glady therwyth. For they wyne wyth pestes the her
tes of the goddes and of men. For yf Iuppter were an
grid. With pestes he wolde be plesid. the knyghtes ought
to be stronge not onely of body but also in corage. there
ben many stronge and grette of body. that ben faynt and
feble in the herte. he is stronge that may not be vanyquys
shed and ouercome. how wel that he suffrith moche oth
er. Whyle. And so we beleue that they that be not oueragre
ne ouer litle ben most corageous and beste in bataylle.

We reade that cadmus due of athenes shold haue a bataylle
agayn them of polipe. And he was warned and had a re-
uelacion of the goddes / that they shold haue the victorie
of Whom the pryncer shold be slayn in the bataylle. And
the pryncer which was of a grette courage and true herte
took other armes of a poure man / and put hym self in
the fronte of the bataylle to thende that he myght be slayn
and so he was. For the right true pryncer had leuer
dye / than his peple shold be ouercomen. and so they had the
victorie / Certes hit was a noble and a fayne thyng to
expose hym self to the deeth for to defende his contraye.
But no man wold do so but yf he hoped to haue a better
thyng therfore. Therefore the saide sayth that they lye
in her sowles gloriously that ben slayn in the warre for
the comyn wele. A knyght ought also to be merciful &
pictous. For there is no thyng that maketh a knyght
so renowned as is whan he sauyth the lyf of them that he
may see. For to shedde and spyle blood is the condycion
of a wyke herte and not the condycion of a good knyght.
Therefore we reade that scilla that was due of the romayns
with out had many fair victories agaynst the romayns.
Within that were contrarye to hym in so moche that in the
bataylle of puppe he slewe yvyn thousand men. And in
champaigne he thousand / and after in the cyte he slewe
thre thousand men vnarmed. When one of his knygh-
tes that was named Cyprianus catulus sawe this cruell
sayd to hym, Gesse now and suffre them to lyue and be
merciful to them wyth Whome we haue ben victorious. /
Wyth Whom we ought to lyue / For it is the most hest

and fair vengeance that a man may do, as to spare them
and geue hem her lyf whom he may sle. Therefore Joab
condemned whan absalon was slayn. he solbened a trumpet
that his peple shold nomore erre and see theyr aduersa-
ries. For there were slayn about xx thousand of them.
And in like wyse dyd he whan he faught ayenst Abner,
and abner was wyngquysshed and fledde. For where that
he went in the chaas he comaunded to spare the peple.
The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple for whan the peple
ben in their tentis or castelles, the knyghtes ought to kepe
the watche. For this cause the romaynes callyd them le-
gyons, and they were made of dyuerse prouynces and of
dyuerse nacions to thentente to kepe the peple. And the
peple shold entende to theyr werk, For no crafty man
may bothe entende to his craft and to fight. How may a
crafty man entende to his wake seuerely in tyme of warre
but yf he be kept. and right in such wyse as the knyghtes
shold kepe the peple in tyme of pees in like wyse the peple
ought to purueye for theyr dispencis. how shold a plow
man be seuer in the felde but yf the knyghtes made dayly
watche to kepe them. For like as the glorie of a kynge
is vpon his knyghtes. So it is necessaie to the knygh-
tes that the marchauntes crafty men and comyn peple be
defended and kepte. Therefore late the knyghtes kepe
the peple in such wyse that they may enioye pees and gete
and gadre the costis and expencis of them bothe. We rede
that athis sayd to dauid whiche was a knyght. I make
the my kept & defendar al wey. thus shold the knyghtes
haue grette zele that the lawe be kept. For the mageste

Ryal ought not onely to be garnysshed wth armes but
also wth good lawes. And therfore shold they laboure
that they shold be wel kepte. Eurgeus pomeus wherof
of a noble knyght named ligurgus that had made aunci-
ent lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obserue
for they semed hard for them to kepe and wold constrayne
hym to rapelle & sette hym a parte. Whan the noble knyght
saue that he dyd the peple to vnderstande that he had not
made them. but a god that was named apollo delphicus
had made them. & had commaunded hym that he shold to the
peple kepe them. thys wordes auayled not they wold in
no wyse kepe them. And than he sayd to them that it was
good that or the sayd lawes shold be broken that he had
gynen to them. that he shold goo and speke wth the god
Apollo. For to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke hym
and that the peple shold kepe and obserue them tyl that he
retorned agayn. the peple accorded therto and swore that
they shold kepe them vnto the tyme he retorned. than the
knyght went in to grece in exyle and dwellyd there alle
his lyf. And whan he shold dye he commaunded that his
body shold be cast in the see. for as moche as yf his body
shold be borne thider. the peple shold bene to be quyt of
theyr othe. and shold kepe no lenger his lawes that were
so good & resonable. that the knyght had leuer to forsake
his owne contrie & to dye so than to reple his lawes.
and his lawes were such. The first lawe was that the pe-
ple shold obeye and serue the prynces. And the pryn-
ces shold kepe the peple and do Justyce on the malefac-
tours. the second lawe that they shold be al sobre. For

he Wyse Wyl that the labour of chualrye is most stronge
Whan they lyue secretly the thyrd Was that no man shold
bye ony thyng for money but they shold chaunge Ware for
Ware / and one marchaundyse for another / the fourth Was
that men shold sette nomore by money ner kepe hit more
than they wold dunge or filthe / the fyfthe he ordeyned for
the comyn Wele alle thyngs by ordre / that the prynces
myght meue and make bataylle by her power . to the mai
ters counceyllours he comysed the Jugementis / and the
annuel rentes / to the senatours the keepng of the lawe.
and to the comyn peple he gaf power to chise suche Judges
as they wold haue / the sixte he ordeyned that alle thyngs
shold be repared egally & al thyng shold be comyn. & none
richer than other in patrimony / the vii that euery man shold
ete lyke Wel in comyn oppnly . that richesse shold not be
cause of luyure Whan they ete secretly . the viii that the
yonge peple shold not haue but one golde or garment in
the yere / The ix that men shold sette poure children to la
boure in the felde to thende that they shold not enloye
theyr yongthe in playes and folye but in labour . The
tenthe that the maydens shold be married Wythout dowaire
in suche Wyse that no man shold take a Wyf for money .
The xi that men shold rather take a Wyf for her good ma
ners and vertues than for her richesses / the xii that men
shold worship the olde & auncient men for theyr age and
more for theyr Wysecom than for her riches / This knyght
made none of these lawes but he first kepte hem /

The fyfthe chappytre of the second booke of the forme
 and maners of the Rookes capitulo quinto



The rookes Whiche ben Vycayres and legates of the
 k synge ought to be maad a knyght Vpon an herte &
 a mantel and hood furrid With meneuia holding a staf in
 his hand / & for as moche as a kynge may not be in al pla
 ces of his royaume therefore the auctorite of hym is gyuen
 to the rookes. Whiche represente the kynge. & for as moche
 as a royaume is grete and large and that rekkyen or
 noueltees myght fowde and aryse in one partye or other
 therefore ther ben two rookes one on the right syde and
 that other on the left syde They ought to haue in hem pyte
 Justice humylite. Wyllful pouerte / and bylemlyte

first Justyce for it is most fayr of the vertues. For hit
happeth ofte tyme that the mynystrs by theyr pryde and
orgueyl subuerte Justyce and do no right, Wherefore the
kynges other Whyle lose theyr royaumes wyth out theyr
culpe or gylte / For an vntrewe Juge or offyce ma
keth his lord to be named vniuste and cuple / & contrarie
Wyse a trewe mynystre of the lawe and right Wyse / causeth
the kyng to be reputed Just & trewe. The romayns ther
fore maad good lawes and wold that they shold be Juste
and trewe, and they that establisshid them for to gouerne
the people. Wold in no Wyse breke them, but kepe them
for to dye for them. For the auncient and Wyse men said
comynly that it was not good to make and ordeyne that
lawe that is not Just. Wherof Valerius reherceth that
there was a man that was named Themystides which
came to the counceyllours of athenes and sayd that he
knewe a counceyl which was right proffyttable for them
But he wold telle hit but to one of them whom that
they wold. And they assigned to hym a wyse man na
med aristides. And whan he had vnderstonde hym he cam
agayn to the other of the counceyl, and sayd that the
counceyl of themystides was wel proffyttable, but hit was
not Just / so that he hit ye may resolue hit in your mynde /
and the counceyl that he sayd was this, that there were
comen two grette shippes fro lacedonie and were arryued
in theyr sonde, & that hit were good to take them / & whan
the counceyl herde hym that sayd, that hit was not Juste
ne right, they left hym al in pces & wold not haue a doo
With al, the Vicair or iuge of the kyng ought to be so iust

that he shold enloye al his entente to saue the comyn we-
le. and yf hit were nede to put his lyf and lose hit ther-
fore. We haue an ensauple of marcus regulus whiche
Tullius reherceth in the booke of offycers. And Samel
Augustyn also in Ciuitate dei. how he saught agayn them
of cartage by see in shippes and was raynquysshed and
taken. Than hit happend that they of cartage sent hym in
her message to come for to haue theyr prysones there. for
them that were taken. and so to chaunge one for another.
And made hym swere and promyse to come ageyn. And
so he came to come, and made propysicion tofore the senate.
And demaunded them of cartage of the senatours to be
chaunged as afore is sayd, and than the Senatours de-
maunded hym what counceyl he gaf. carren sayd he. I
counceyll yow that ye doo hit not in no wyse. For as
moche as the peple of rome that they of cartage holde in
pryson of yowre. Ben olde men and busid in the warre
as I am my self, But they that ye holde in pryson of
theyr peple is alle the floure of alle theyr folke whiche
counceyl they took. & than his frendes wold haue holde
hym & councilled them to abyde there & not retorne agayn
prysoner in to cartage. but he wold neuer do so. nei abyde
but wold goo agayn & kept his oth how wel that he leue
we that he went toward his deth. for he had leuer dye than
to breke his oth. Valerius reherceth in the vii booke of one
emilie due of the romayns. that in the tyme when he had
assieged the phaliskes. the scole maistre of the children de-
cepyd the children of the gentylmen that he drewe hym a
littel & a littel vnto the tentis of the romayns by fayne speche

Olindz sayd to the duc emelye ⁊ that by the moyan of the
chyldeyn that he had brought to hym. The sholdz haue the
cote. For theyr faders were lordes and gouernours /
Whan emelye had herd hym he said thus to hym / Thou
that art cruel and cruel. And thou that woldest gyue a
gyfte of grette felonye and of mauastye, thou shalt nez
hast not founden here / duc ne peple that resembleth the.
We haue also wel labours to kepe in batayle and warre / as
in our contrees and othez places / And we wol obserue
and kepe them vnto euery man as they ought to be kept
and we ben armedz ayenst our enemyes that wol defende
them. and not ayenst them that can not saue their lyf
Whan their cote is taken. as these litil chyldeyn, Thou
hast vanyquysshed them as moche as is in the by thy nelle
deceyuable falsnes ⁊ by subtilnes ⁊ not by armes. But I
that am a womayn shal vanyquyssh the by craft ⁊ strength
of armes / And anon he comaunded to take the sayd
scole maister and to bynde his handes behynde hym as a
traptour and lede hym vnto the parentis of the chyldeyn.
And Whan the faders and pountes sawe the grette curtosy
spe that he had don to them. They opened the pates and
yelded them vnto hym. We rede that Hanybal had tak-
en a pryuce of rome whychz vpon his othe ⁊ promyse suf-
ferd hym to goo home ⁊ to sende hym hys raunson. or he
shold come agayn within a certayn tyme / ⁊ Whan he was
at home in his place he said that he had deceyued hym by a
falle oth / And Whan the senatours knewe therof / they
constrayned hym to retorne agayn vnto Hanybal /
¶ Olindz floruz tellith that the phisicion of hys pyrrus com

on a nyght to fabrice his aduersarye/ and promysed hym
yf he wold geue hym for his labour that he wold enuy
sone piccus his mayster. When fabricius vnderstood this
he dyd to take hym and bynde hym hand and foot/and
sent hym to his maister & dyd do sayto hym word for word
like as the phisician had said and promysed hym to do, &
When piccus vnderstood this he was gretly admyraed
of the loyalte and trowth of fabrice his enemye - and said
certeynly that the sonne myght lightlye & sonne he en
pessid of his cure. thence fabrice shold be letted to holde
loyalte and trowth. yf they than that were not crysten
were so Juste and trewe and louyd theyr contrey & theyr
good renomee. What shold we now doon than that ben
Crysten and that our salve is sette al vpon loue and
charite. But now a dayes there is no thyng ellis in the
World but/Barate tresor/ deceit falsenes & trecherye me kepe
not their couenauntes/ promysed. othes, Writynge, ne
trowth, the subgettis rebelle agayn their lord. ther is now
no salve kepte. nor fydelyte ne othe holden. The people
murmure and ryse agayn theyr lord and wol not be
subget, they ought to be pietous in herte. Whiche is a
uaylable to alle thyng. There is pyte in effect by com
passyon / and in worde by remyscion and pardon. By
almesse. for to enclyne hym self vnto the poure. For
pyte is no thyng ellis but a right grette Wyll of a do
nour herte for to helpe alle men. Valerius rehercheth that
there was a Iuge named sangis Whiche dampned a wo
man that had deseruyd the deth for to haue her heed syns
ten of or ellys that she shold dye in pryson.

The Jaylor that had pyte on the Woman put not her anon
to deth but put her in the pryson and this Woman had a
doughter which came for to see and comforte her moder /
But al they or she entrid in to the prison the Jaylor sez /
chyd her that she shold have no mete ne drynke to her mo /
der . but that she shold dye for longer . than hit happened
after thys that he meruayled moche Why this Woman dy /
ed not and began to espye the cause Why she luyd so long
And fonde atte laste how her doughter gaf souke to her
moder. and fede her With her mylke / When the Jaylor sawe
thys merueyle he Went and tolde the Juge / And When
the Juge sawe this grette pyte of the doughter to the mo /
der he pardoned her and made her to be delyuerd out of her
pryson / What is that that pite ne amokisheth / moche peple
Wene that it is agaynst nature and wonder that the
doughter shold geue the moder to souke . hit Were agaynst
nature but the children shold be kynde to fader and moder
Seneca sayth that the kyng of bees hath no pryke to
stynge wyth as other bees haue / And that nature hath
take hit away from hym by cause he shold haue none ar /
mes to assaile them . and this is an example vnto pryn /
ces that they shold be of the same condycion . Valerius re /
fract in his fyfthe booke of Marchus martellus that
When he had taken the cite of Syracusane & Was sette in
the hyest place of the cite . he beheld the grette destruccyon
of the peple and of the cite he wepte & sayd thou oughtest
to be sorrowful / for so moche as thou woldest haue no pyte
of thy self / But enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande
of a right debonair pryncer / also he recolecteth When pompeo

had conquerd the kyng of germanye that often tymes
had foughten ayenst the romayns, & that he was brought
to fore hym bounden. He was so ppetous that he wold not
suffre hym to be longe on his knees tofore hym. but he
receyued hym curtosly. and sette the crowne agayn on
his heed and put hym in the state that he was tofore.

For he had oppynyon that it was as worshipful and
fittynge to a kyng to pardon, as to punyshe. Also he
herceeth of a counceyllour that was named poule that vnder
to bryng tofore hym a man that was prisoner. And as
he kneliid tofore hym he took hym vp fro the ground and
made hym to sitte besyde hym for to geue hym good cōse-
raunce and hope, and sayd to the other stondynge by. in
this wyse / yf hit be grete noblesse that he shewe our self
contrarye to our enemyes. than this he ought to be also.
Wed that he shewe our self contrarye to our crytyes and
prisoners. Cesar when he hard the deth of catton which
was his aduersarye sayd that he had grete enuye of his
gloire, and no thyng of his patrymonye; and therefore
he lefte to his chyldren frely al his patrymonye. Thus
taught vitayle and enseyneth the glorious prynces to
reule and gouerne the peple of rome. and saynt Austyn
de ciuitate di sayth thus. Thou emperour gouerne the pe-
ple ppetously / and make pees ouerall / deperte and forlete
the subgettis. repleue and correcte the proude. For so
enseyne and teche the the lalbes. And hys was wyten
vnto allvaunter. that euery pryncce ought to be ppetous
in punysshynge, and redy for to rewarde. ther is no thyng
that causeth a pryncce to be so belouyd of his peple. as when

he spekyth to hem secretly . and conceythyth wyth hem syn-
ply . and al this cometh of the wote of pryte .

We rede of the emperour traian that his frendes repro-
ved hym of that he was to moche pryue and familiar
wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be
And he answered that he wold be suche an emperour as
euery man desyred to haue hym, also we rede of alisander
that on a tyme he laded his host forth hastely . & in that
haste he behelde wher satte an olde knyght that was fore-
acorde, whom he dyd aryse and sette hym in his owne
sette or siege. What wonder was hit though the knyghtes
desyred to serue suche a lord that louyd better theyr helthe
than his dignyte . The wyse ought also to be humble &
meke . after the holy scripture whiche sayth the gretter or
in the hyer estate that thou art . so moche more oughtest
thou to be meker and more humble . Valerius reherceth in his
viij booke that ther was an emperour named Publius ce-
sar . that dyd doo lye down his folde whych was in the
myddes of the market place for as moche as hit was hy-
er than other foldes . For as moche as he was more
glorious in estate than other . therefore wold he haue a
lasse folde than other , and scipion of affrique that was
so pure of voluntarye pouerte that whan he was dede . He
was buryed at the dyspence and costes of the comyn
good . They shold be so humble that they shold leue theyr
offices and suffre other to take hem whan her tyme co-
meth . and doo honour to other . For he gouerneth wel the
royame that may gouerne hit whan he dyeth . Valerius reher-
ceth in his iij booke that fabyan the grette had ben maystre

countrysfour of his fader his grauntfice . And of his
grauntfices fader and of alle his antecessours . And yet
dyd he al his payn and labour / that his sone shold neuer
haue that offyce after hym . But for no thyng that he
mystrusted his sone for he was noble and wyse and more
attempered than other . but he wold that the offyce shold
not alwey reste in the famylie and hows of the fabians
Also he reherceth in his seuenth booke that they wold ma
ke the sayd fabian emperour / but he excusyd hym & sayde
that he was blynde and myght not see for age . But
that excusacion myght not helpe hym . Than sayd he to
hem / seke ye and gete you another . For yf ye make me
your emperour / I may not suffre your maners nor ye may
not suffre myn . There was a kynge of so subtyl engyne
that whan men brought hym the crowne tofore that he to
ke hit . he remembred hym a litil and sayd . O thou crowne
that art more noble thenne happe . For yf a kynge kinde
wel and parfaytly how that thou art ful of paynelles of
thought and of charge . yf thou were on the ground /
he wold neuer lyfte nor take the vp . Remembre the that
whan thou art most glorious . then haue some moosteste
enuye on the . And whan thou hast most seignorie and
lordshyp / than shalt thou haue most care . thought and
anguysses . Vaspasian was so humble that whan Nero
was slayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym emperour
And many of his frendes came and prayed hym that
he wold take hit vpon hym . So at the last he was con
streyned to take hit vpon hym . and sayd to his frendes
hit is better and more to prayse and alowe for a man to

take the myght agaynst his Wyll than for to saluare . to
haue hit and to put hym self therein . Thus ought they to
be humble and meke for to receyue Worshyp . therefore saith
the byble that Joab the sone of saryne that was captayne
of the Warre of the kyng dauid / When he cam to take and
wyne a cyte . he sente to dauid and desired hym to come
to the Warre . that the Victorie shold be geuen to Dauid
and not to hym self . also they ought to be ware that
they chaunge not ofte tymes her officers . Josephus re-
hereth that the frenches of Tyberius meruaylled moche
why he held his officers so longe in theyr offices wyth
out chaunchyng . And they demaunded of hym the cause
to whom he answered I wolde chaunge them gladly . yf I
dyd that hit shold be good for the peple . But I sawe on
a tyme a man that was wyneous and ful of sorres . and
many flies satte vpon the sorres and soulied his blood
that hit was meruayle to see . Wherefore I smote & chased
them away and he than sayd to me why chasest & smytest
thou away these flies that been ful of my blood . & now
shalt thou let come other that he hongyre which shal doon
to me double payne more than the other dyd . for the prick
of the hongyre is more prynaunt the half . thanne of the
fulle . And therefore sayde he I leue the officers in theyr
offices . For they ben al riche and do not so moche euill
& harme as the newbe shold do and were pure yf I shold
sette hem in her places . They ought also to be pacient in
hearyng of wordes and in suffryng payne on her bodies . as
to the first . one sayd to alisaundre that he was not wor-
thy to rigne specially when he suffred that lecherie and

depyte to haue seignourye in hym / he suffrid hit patiently /
And answerd none other wyse but that he wold correct
hym self / And take better maners and more honeste, also
hit is refered that Iulius Cesar Was callid wherof he
had displeasur so grete that he kempt hys heere tha! laye
on the after parte of his heed forward for to hye the
bare tofore. Then sayd a knyght to hym. Cesar hit is
lightlier and soner to be maad that thou be not callid /
than that I haue bid ony cowardyse in the barre of Ro
me / or here after shal doo ony cowardyse. He suffrid hit
patiently and sayd not one word. another reprochid
hym by his lignage, and called hym baker, he answerd
that hit is better that noblesse begynne in me. than hit
shold sayll in me / another callid hym tyraunt / he an
swerd yf I were one thou woldst not say so. A knyght
callid on a tyme scippon of Affrique folle & olde knyght
in armes. And that he knewe lytyl good. And he an
swerd I Was borne of my moder a lytyl chylde and feeble
and not a man of armes. And yet he Was at alle tymes
one of the best and most worthiest in armes that lyuid
Another sayd to Vaspacion / a Wolf shold soner chaunge
his skyn and heer. than thou sholdst chaunge thy lyf.
For the lenger thou lyuest the more thou couertest / and
he answerd of thys wordes we ought to laughe / But we
ought to amende our self / and punyshe the trespasses.
Senekie referaith that the kynge antygonus herde certeyn
puple speke and say euyl of hym. and there Was betwene
hym nomore but a courtynie / and than he sayd make an
ende of your euyl langage lest the kynge here you. for

the courtynr heeryth you wel y nough. than as touchynge
to the paynes that they ought to suffre patiently/ Valerius
rehereth that a tyrant dyd & torment Anamappmenes
and threatnyd hym for to cutte of his tunge . to Whom he
sayd hit is not in thy power to do so . and forthwith he
bete of his owne tongue ; and chid hit wyth his tethe
and caste hit in the dysage of the tyrant . hit is a grete
vertu in a man that he forgete not to be pacient in correc-
cions of Wronges . hit is better to leue a gylty man vn-
punysshed . than to punyshe hym in a Wrath or yre .

Valerius rehereth that archyta of tarente that was mayf-
ter to plato saue that his felows and landes were destroy-
ed and lost by the negligence of his seruaunt . to Whom
he sayd yf I were not angry With the I wolde take venge-
aunce and tumente the . so there ye may see that he had
leuer to leue to punyshe . than to punyshe meane by yre &
Wrath than by right . And therefore sayth seneque . do not
thynge that thou oughtest to do when thou arte angrye
For when thou art angry thou woldest do alle thynges
after thy playse/ and yf thou canst not vanyquyshe thyn
yre . than must thyn yre ouercome the . After this ought
they to haue wysful prouice lyke as hit was in the aun-
cient prynces . For they coueyted more to be rich in wythe
and good maners than in money And that rehereth
Valerius in his viij booke that Scyppon of affryque was
accused vnto the senate that he shold haue grete tresoure .
And he answered certes when I submyssed Affrique in to
your poeste . I helde no thyng to my self that I myght
say this is myn saue onely the suretye of affrique . Nor

the affraquants haue not founden in me ner in my liuour
ony auarice . ner that We Were so couetouse that We had
ne had greater enuye to be rich of name than of richesses
And therfore sayth Senecue that the kynge altagone
Wyd gladly in his holles vessels of erthe / And somme
sayd he dyd hit for couetyse . but he sayd that hit Was bet
ter and more noble thyng to shyne in good maners than
in vassel . And Whan some men demaunded hym Why
for What cause he dyd so he answered I am now kynge of
Secyll . and Was sone of a pette: / and for as much as
I doubt fortune for Whan I yssued out of the holles of my
fader and moder . I Was sodaynly made rich . Wherfore I
keholde the natyure of me and of my lignage / Whiche is
humble and meke . and al these thynges cometh of Wyl
ful pouerte / For he entended more to the comyn profyt
than to his owen . And of this pouerte speketh Saynt
Augustyn in the booke of the cyte of god that they that
entende to the comyn profyt . sorowe more that Wylful
pouerte is lost in rome . than the richesses of rome / for by
the Wylful pouerte Was the renomme of good maners
kepte entierly . thus by this richesse pouerte is not onely
corrupt in thys dayes ner the cyte ner the maners . But
also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by this couetise
and by felonye that is Worse than any other enemye . and
of the crueltie of the peple of rome speketh the good man
of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of rome
in the decretal the sixte in the chapytre gene sea where he
sayth . that they ben felons ayenst god . contrarye to holy
thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous to her

neighbour. proud vnto strangers. vnto and vnto
vnto their soueraynes not suffring to them that been of
lower degree than they & no thyng shamefast to demaunde
thynges disconuenable and not to leue tyl they haue that
they demaunde, and not plesyd but disagreeable vnto they
haue receyued the paye. they haue theyr tongues redy for
to make grete boost, and do litle they ben large in promy
syng and smale gyuers / they ben right fals recepuours,
and right mordent and bityng detractours. For which
thyng hit is a grete sorow to see the humylyte the paye
ence, and the good wysdom that was wonte to be in this
cite of Rome which is cheef of al the world & is pruer
ted and turned in to maleuour & thysse euylles. And ma
thynketh that in other parties of cristente they haue taken
ensaumple of them is to euyl / They may say that this is
after the recetale of seynourge and dysobeyssaunce, that
sayth. that such thynges that the soueraynes do. is lightly
and sone taken in ensaumple of theyr subgettis. also thysse
vncayres shold be large and liberall. in so moche that such
peple as serue them ben duly payd and rewarded of her la
bour. For euery man doth his labour the better & lighte
lyer vnto he seeth that he shal be wel payed and rewarded
And we rede that titus the sone of Vaspasian was so large
and so liberal. that he gaf & promysed sumwhat to euery
man. and vnto his most prynces frendes demaunded of
hym why he promysed more thenne he myght gyue, He
answared for as moche as it aperteyneth not to a pryncce
that any man shold departe sorrowful or tryste fro hym,
Then hit happened on a day that he gaf not promysed, no

thyng to any man / and when it was euen and aduysed
hym self he sayd to his frendes . O ye my frendes this
day haue I lost for this day haue I don no good . and also
we rede of Iulius cesar that he neuer sayd in alle hys lyf
to his knyghtes goo on . but alwey he sayd come come .

For I loue alwey to be in your compaigne / And he liued
wel that it was lasse payne and trauaylle to the knygh-
tes when the pryncce is in her compaigne that loueth hym &
comforteth hym . and also we rede of the same Iulius cesar
in the booke of triumphe of philosophers / that there was an
auncient knyght of his that was in parrelle of a man
hangyng tofore the Iuges of ryme so he callyd cesar on
a tyme and sayd to hym tofore al men that he shold be
his aduocate . And cesar deliuered and assigned to hym
a right good aduocate . and the knyght sayd to hym . O
cesar I put no bycayt in my place when thou wert in pri-
son in the butyl of assise / but I saught for the . & than
he shewyd to hym the places of his woundes that he had
receyued in the butylle . and than cam cesar in his proper
persone for to be his aduocate and to plete his cause for
hym . he wold not haue the name of vnkynndenes . But
doubted that men shold say that he were proude . and that
he wold not doo for them that had seruyd hym / they that
can not do so moche as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes .
can not loue the knyghtes . & this suffiseth of the rolles.

The tractate of the officers of the comyn peple. the first
 chapter is of the officer of the labourers & Workmen. c. i



Or so moche as noble persones can not relbe ne go
 f uare without the seruyse and werke of the people
 Than hit behoueth to duple the outrages and the offe-
 ces of the Workmen. than I shal begynne first at the first
 paln that is in the playe of the chesse. & signefieth a man
 of the comyn peple on fote. for they be al named pietons
 that is as moche to say as footmen. And thenne we
 shal begynne at the paln whiche standeth tofore the rooke
 on the right syde of the kynge. For as moche as this
 palne apperteyneth to serue the bycapte or lieutenante
 of the kynge and other officers. vnder hym of necessities

of bytelle and this maner of peple is figured: & ought
he maad in the forme and shappe of a man holding in his
right hand a spade or shouel .and a rodd in the lyft hand
the spade or shouel is for to delue and labour therewith the
erthe .and the rodd is for to dryue and conduyte both al
the bestys vnto her pasture / also he ought to haue on his
gyrdel a sarpe or crokyd heret for to cutte of the superflui-
tyes of the vynes and trees . And we rede in the bible
that the first labourer that euer was was caym the first
sone of ada that was so euyl that he slewe his brother abel
For as moche as the smoke of his tithes went straye vnto
heuen .and the smoke and fume of the tythes of caym
went down ward vpon the erthe . and how wel that thys
cause was trewe . yet was there another cause of enuye
that he had vnto his brother . For when Adam theyr fader
marryed them for to mulcplye the erthe of his ligne . he
wold not marie ner Joyne to gyde the tithes that were
borne attones . but gaf vnto caym her that was borne with
abel .and to abel her that was borne with caym .: thus
he gan the enuye that caym had agens abel / For hys wyf
was furer than cayms wyf / and for this cause he slewe
abel with the chekelone of a keste . And at that tyme
was neuer no maner of yron bloody of mannes bloody .
And Abel was the first martir in the olde testament .
and thys sayd caym dyd many other euyl thynges whiche
I leue . for it apperteyneth not to my mater . but it belongeth
for necessyte that some shold labour the erthe after the
synne of adam / for tofore or adam synned / that he brought
forth fruyt without labour of handes but sith he synned

hit must needs be laboured with the hands of man. & for
as moche as the erthe is mozt of al thynges and that
we were first formed & took our begynnynge of the erthe/
the same wyse at the last. she shal be the ende vnto al be
& to al thynges. & god that formed vs of the erthe. hath
ordayned that by the labour of man she shold gyue noutys
shynge vnto al that lyueth. & first the labourer of therch
ought to knowe his god that formed & made heuen & erthe
of nought and ought to haue loyalte & trouthe in hym self
and despise deeth for to entende to his labour and he ought
to geue thankynge to hym that make hym & of Whom he
receyuethe al his goodes temporal. Wherof his lyf is sustey
ned. and also he is bounden to paye the dismes & tythes of
al his thynges. and not as carym dyd. but as aтел dyd
of the beste that he chese out al wey for to gyue to god and
to please hym / for they that graunte and be greued in that
they rendere & geue to god the tynches of her goodes/ they
ought to be aserd and haue drete that they shal falle in
necessyte / And that they myght be wspylld or robbid
by Warre or by tempest that myght falle or happen in the
contray. And hit is no marueyle though hit so happen/
For that man that is disagreeable vnto god/and deneth
that the multelyeng of his goodes temporal cometh by
the vertu of his owne counceyl and his Witte, the Whiche
is made by the only ordinaunce of hym that make al/and
by the same ordinaunce is sone taken a wey fro hym that is
disagreeable. & hit is reson that when a man labouryth
by fortune in goodes. & knowith not god by Whō it cometh.
that to hym come some othe fortune by the Whiche he may

requyre grace and pardon & to knowe his god. & We reue of
the Kinge Sampson that was first simple & one of the comyn
peple that when fortune had enchaumed & sette hym in grete
estate. he left & forgate his god. & fyl to aduoultre & ho-
myce & othe synnes. than anone his owne sone abshalom
assailid & began to persecute hym. & than when he sawe that
fortune was contrarye to hym. he began to take agayn his
vertuous werhis and requyred pardon & so retorned to god
agayn. We reue also of the children of ysaac that were
mygh ensampned in desert & sore hungry & thursty that they
prayed & requyred of god for remedye. anone he chaunged
his Wille & sent to hem manna & flessch. & when they were
replemysshed & fatte of the flessch of bestes & of the manna
they made a calf of gold & worshipped hit. which was a
grete synne & iniquyte. for when they were hungry they
sawe god. & when theyr belies were filled & fatted. they
forgoten god. & were ydolaters. after this euery labourer
ought to be faithfull and trewe. that when his maister
repuereth to hym his lande to be laboured. that he take no
thyng to hym self but that he ought to haue & is his. but
laboure truly and take care & charge in the name of his
mayster. and do more diligently his maysters labours
than his owne. for the lyf of the most grete & noble man
next god lieth in the handes of the labourers and thus all
craftes and occupations ben ordyned not only to suffice to
the body. but to y comyn. & so it happeth oft tyme that the
labourer of the erth useth grete & boistous metis. & bryn-
geth to his maister more subtile & more dyntous metres.
And Valerius rethreith in his first booke that ther was a

Wise and noble maister that Was named anthonius that
Was accusid of a case of aduoltry. & as the cause henge
tofore the Judges. his accusers or denonciatours brought
a labourer that closed his lande for so much as they sayd
than his mayster went to do the aduoltrye. the same
seruaunt bare the lanterne wherof Anthonius Was fore
assaid. & wrotes that he shold depose agaynst hym. But
the labourer that Was named papirion said to his maister
that he shold denye his cause hardily vnto the Judges / for
to be tormentid / his cause shold neuer be enuyred by hym
nor no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth wherof he shold
be noyed or greuyd / & than Was the labourer beten & tor-
mentid & bent in many places of his body. but he sayd ne-
uer thyng wherof his maister Was hurt or noyed / but the
other that accused his maister Were punysshed / & papirion
Was deliuerd of his paynes. & also tellith valerius that
there Was another labourer that Was named penapion /
that seruyd a maister whos name Was themes which Was
of meruailous faith to his maister. for hit befel that cer-
teyn knyghtes cam to his maisters howse for to sle hym. &
anone as penapion knele hit. he went in to his maisters
chambre / & wolde not be knowen / for he did on his maysters
gobline & his kynge on his synge. & lay in his bedde / and
thus put hym self in perelle of deth for to respyte his
maysters lyf. But we see now a dayes many foolis that
digne not to vse grosse metis of labourers. and flee the
coarse clothynge and maners of a seruaunt. Every wise
man a seruaunt that trewly seruyth his maister is free
and not bonde. but a fool that is ouer proud is bonde.

For the debilitie and feblenes of courage that is lesion in
 conscience by pryde. Enuye .or by couetyse is right scrup
 tude yet they ought not to doubt to labour .for fere and
 drede of deth no man ought to loue to moche his lyf. For
 hit is a foul thyng for a man to reune to the deth for the
 enuye of his lyf / and a Wyse man and a stronge man
 ought not to fle for his lyf .but to yssue . for there is no
 man that lyueth .but he must needs dye / of this speketh
 claudyan and saith that al tho thynges that the ayre goth
 about & enuyronneth & alle thyng that the water laboureth
 All thynges that ben conteyned within the see .al thynges
 that the floces brynge forth .alle thynges that ben notifi
 shed . & al the bestes that ben vnder the heuen shal departe
 alle from the world .and al shal goo at his comaundment
 as wel kynges prynces and al that the world enuyron
 neth and goeth about .alle shal goo this way . Then he
 ought not to doubt for fere of deth . for as wel shal dye
 the ryche as the poure . deth maketh alle thynges lyke and
 putteth al to an ende . and therof made a noble versyfer
 two versis whiche folowe . *Forma genus moris . sapiencie
 res et honores . Morte tuant subita sola manent merita .*
 Wherof the englyssh is . beaute . signage maners . wysdom .
 thynges and honoures . shal ben affected by so doun with
 no thyng shal abyde but the meritis . & herof fynde we in
Vitas patrum that ther was an erle a rich & noble man
 that had a sone onely / And when this sone was of age
 to haue knowleche of the lawe . he herde in a sermone that
 deth spaketh none / & as wel dyeth the yong as the old .

And that the deth ought specially to be doubted for three causes / one was that no man knoweth when he cometh / and the second was in what state he taketh a man . And the thirde he wote neuer whether he shal goo / therefore eche man shold dispyse and flee the world and lyue wel and holde hym toward god . and when this yonge man herde this thyng / he wente out of his contray and fledde vnto a wylde place vnto an hermytage . and when his fader had loste hym he made grete sorowe and dyd so enquire & seeke hym so muche that at the last he was founden in the hermytage . And thenne his fader cam thider to hym and sayd . Dae sone come from thens / thou shalt be after my wythe and chyef of my lignage . I shal be lost yf thou come not out from thens / & he than that wylt none other wyse to eschewe the yre of his fader kethought hym and sayd / Dede fader there is in your contray and lande a right euyl custume yf hit please you to put that a wyse I shal gladly come out of this place and goo with you . The fader was glad and had grete ioye / and demaunded of hym what hit was . and yf he wolde telle hym he promysed hym to take hit a wyse and hit shold be lefte and sette a parte / Than he sayd / Dede fader there vpon as wel the yonge folke as the olde in your contray . so that a wyse I praye you / when his fader herde that . he sayd / Dede sone that may not be ner no man may put that a wyse but god onely / than answered the sone to the fader . than wyl I serue hym and dwelle here with hym that may so that . And so awoke the childe in the hermytage and lyued there in good wey / after this hit apperteyneth to a labourer to entere to his labour

and flee yelnes/ and thou oughtest to knowe that dauid
preyseth moche in the psalter the trewe labourer & sayth
thou shalt ete the labour of thyn handes and thou art
blessyd and he shal doo to the good. And hit scheweth
that the labourer entende to his labour on the wekedayes
for to recouel and gadre to gadre the fruyt of his labour
and also he ought to reste on the holy day. bothe he & his
bestys and a good labourer ought to nourishe and kepe
his bestys. And this is signified by the word that he
hath which is for to lede and dryue them to the pasture.
The first pastour that euer was was Abel which was
juste and trewe and offered to god the bestis into his
sacrefise and hym ought he to folowe in craft and maners
but no man that useth the malice of carym maye ensue:
folowe abel and thus hit apperteyneth to the labourer to
sette and graffe trees and vynges and also to plante:
cutte them/ and so dyd Noe which was the first that
planted the vyne after the deluge and flood. For as
Josephus reherceth in the booke of naturel thynges Noe
was he that fonde first the vyne. and he fonde hym by
ter and wylde and therefore he took four maners of blood
that is to wete the bloody of a lyon the bloody of a lamb
the bloody of a swyne. and the blood of an ape & medled
them al togeder wyth the erthe. And than he cutte the
vyne and put thre about the rotes therof so thende that
the byttynes shold be put away & that hit shold be sweete.
And whan he had dronken of the fruyt of thys vyne.
hit was so good & myghty that he became so dronke that
he despoyled hym in such wyse that his priuer membres

myght & feyn and his yongest sone charyn mocked and
shamed hym and when noe was awaked and was sobre
and fastyng. he assembled his sones and shewed to them
the nature of the vygne and of the wyne & tolde to them
the cause why that he had put the blood of the bestes about
the rote of the vygne and that they shold knowe wel that
otherwhile by the strengthe of the wyne men be made as
hardy as the lyon and prous and otherwhile they be made
symple and shamefast as a lambe & lecherous as a wyne
and curious and ful of play as an ape. for the ape is of
suche nature that when he seeth one doo a thyng he enfor-
ceth hym to do the same and so don many when they be
dronke they wyl meddle them with al offycers and ma-
ters that apperteyne no thyng to them and when they be
fastyng & sobre they can scarcely accomplissh theyr owne
thynges and therefore Valerian rehereth that of auncient
and in olde tyme women dranke no wyne for as muche as
by dronkenshyp they myght falle in eny fylthe or vylony
and as ovyde saith. that the wynees otherwhile appaylle
the corages in suche manere that they be couenable to al
synnes whiche take a way the series to do wel they make
the poure. riche as longe as the wyne is in his heed and
shortly dronkenshyp is the begynnyng of alle euylles. &
corrupteth the body. and destroyeth the soule & mynnysheth
the goodes temporals / & this suffiseth for the labourers

The second chappere of the thyrd tractate treateth of
the forme and maner of the second palle and of the
maner of a smyth capitulo

secundo



The second palle that stoundeth tofore the knyght on
the right syde of the kyng hath the forme : figure
of a man as a smyth and that is reson for hit apperces
neth to the knyghtes to haue bradellys sadellis spores and
many other thynges maad by the handes of smythes and
ought to holde an hamer in his right hond and in his left
honde a squere . and he ought to haue on his gyrdel a co
wel / For by this is signefyed alle maner of Werkman .
as goldsmythes . marchallis . Smythes of alle forged

myght be seen and his yongest sone cham mocked and
shoened hym and when noe was abashed and was sober
and fastyng he assembled his sones and shewed to them
the nature of the vygne and of the wyne and told to them
the cause why that he had put the blood of the bestes about
the rote of the vygne and that they shold knowe wel that
other while by the strengthe of the wyne men be maad as
hardy as the lyon and yrou and other while they be made
symple and shamefast as a lambe and lecherous as a swyne
and curious and ful of play as an ape for the ape is of
such nature that when he seeth one doo a thyng he enfor-
ceth hym to do the same and so don many when they be
dronke they wyl meddle them with al offycers and ma-
ters that apperteyne no thyng to them and when they be
fastyng and sobre they can scarcely accomplishe theyr owne
thynges and therefore valerian reherceth that of auncient
and in olde tyme women dranke no wyne for as moche as
by dronkenhys they myght falle in ony filthe or vylony
and as our sayth that the wyne other while apparaylle
the corages in such manere that they be couenable to al
synnes which take a way the hertes to do wel they make
the poure rich as longe as the wyne is in his heed and
shortly dronkenhys is the begynnyng of alle euylles and
corrupteth the body and destroyeth the soule and mynysseth
the goodes temporels and this suffiseth for the labourers

The second chappere of the thyrd tractate treateth of
the forme and maner of the second palme and of the
maner of a smyth capitulo

seundo



The second palme that stondeth tofore the knyght on
the right syde of the kyng hath the forme : figure
of a man as a smyth and that is reson for hit appercey
neth to the knyghtes to haue bridellis saddleis spores and
many other thynges maad by the handes of smythes and
ought to holde an hamer in his right hond and in his left
hande a squer . and he ought to haue on his gyrdel a tw
wel / For by this is signefied alle maner of workman
as goldsmythes . marchallis . Smythes of alle forges

forgers and makers of money and al maner of mythes
ben signefyed by the martel or hamer. The carpenters
ben signefyed by the dolabre or squyer and by the trobel
He vnderstonde al masons and hieuerers of stones. tylers
and al those that make holdes castels and towres. And
vnto al these crafty men hit apperteyneth that they be tre
we. Wyse and stronge. And hit is nede that they haue in
hem self fayth and loyaulte. For vnto the golosmythes
behoueth golde and syluer and alle other metallys. yron
and steel to other. and vnto the carpentiers and ma
sons ben put to theyre edyces the bodyes and goodes of
the peple and also men put in the handes of the mawners
body and goodes of the peple and in the garde and serberte
of them men put body and soule in the pailles of the see
And therfore ought they to be trewe vnto whom men com
mytte suche grette charge and so grette thynges vpon her
fayth and truste. and therfore sayth the phylosopher. He
that lefeth his fayth and beleue. may lose no gretter ne
more thyng and fayth is a souerayn good and cometh
of the good Wyll of the herte and of his mynde. and for
no necessity Wyl deceyue no man and is not corrupt for
no mede. Valerius wherewith that fabius had receyued of
hanybal certeyn prysoners that he helde of the romayns
for a certeyn some of money which he promysed to paye
to the sayd hanybal and whan he cam vnto the senatours
of rome and aspyed to haue the money lente for hem.
they answered that they wolde not paye nor lene and than
ffabius sent his sone to rome and made hym to selle hys
heritage and patrymonye. and sent the money that he

receyvyd therof vnto hankral . and hady leue andy loupdy
letter to be poure in his contrey of heritage . than of beleue
and fayth. But in thys wyse it were grete folpe to haue
suche affyaunce in moche peple but yf they had ben preydyd
afore / for oftentymes men traiste in them by Whom they
ben deceyvyd at theyr ned / andy it is to wate that these
crafty men and Werkmen ben soueraynly proffyttable vnto
the World / and wythout artificers and Workmen the World
myght not be gouaned . and lino be thou wate that alle
tho thynges that ben engendryd on the erthe and on the
see . ben maad andy formed for to do proffyt vnto the lig
nage of man . For man was formed for to haue gone
ration . that the men myght helpe and proffyt eche other /
And here in oughte we to folowe nature / For she sheweth
to vs that we shold do comyn proffyt one to another . and
the first fondement of Justyce is that no man shold nore
ne greue other . but that they oughte do the comen proffyt
For men say in reproche . that I see of theym . I wote it shal
be myn / but who is he in thys wyse that entendeth more
to the comyn proffyt than to his owne / certeynly none but
alwey a man ought to haue drede andy fere of his owne
holde / When he seeth his neyghbours holde a fyre . Andy
therefore ought men gladly helpe the comyn proffyt . for
men etherwyle sette not by a lytel fyre : myght quench
hit in the begynnyng that afterward maketh a grete bla
pyng fyre : fortune hath of no thyng so grete plesure as
for to torne : Werke alwey : nature is so noble a thyng
that where as she is she wyl susteyne andy kepe . but this
rebell of nature hath faylled longe tyme . Thow wote that

the wote saith that alle the thynges that been ayens the
lawe of nature ought to be taken away and put a parte.
And he sayth tofore in the viij distinction that the ryght
lawe of nature differenceth ofte tymes fro custom & statu-
tes establisshyd. For by lawe of nature al thyng ought
to be comyn to euey man, and this lawe was of olde ty-
me, and now bene yet specially that the twians kept this
lawe. and we rede that the multitude of the twians was
one herte & one soule. and verely we fynde that in tyme
passid the philosophers did the same. And also it is to be
supposid that such as haue theyr goodes comune and not
propre is most acceptable to god. For ellis wold not these
religious men as monkes freres chanoines obseruauntes
and al other auowe hym and kepe the wyful priete that
they ben professid to. For in trowth I haue myself ben
conuersaunt in a religious holls of Wynt freres at gaunc
Whiche haue al thyng in comyn among them. and not
one richer than another in so much that yf a man gaf to
a frere in dy or in dy to praye for hym in his masse / as
sone as the masse is don he deliuereth hit to his ouerst
or procuratour in Whiche holls ben many virtuous and de-
uout freres / and yf that lyf were not the best & the most
holpest. holy church wold neuer suffre hit in religion.
And accordyng thereto we rede in plato Whiche sayth that
the cite is wel and Justly gouerned and ordeined in the
Which no man may say by right. by custome ne by ordina-
ce. this is myn. But I say to the certeynly that sythen
this custome came forth to say this is myn. and this is
thy. no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt so

moche as his owne . and al Warkmen ought to be Wyse &
Wel-aduryed so that they haue none enuye ne none envye
suspicion one to another / For god Wyll that our humayn
nature be couetous of tWo thynges / that is of religion &
of Wysedom . but in this caas ben some of ten tymes decey /
ued . For they take often tymes religion & leue Wysedom
& they take Wysedom & refuse religion / And none may be
tray and trewe wyth out other . for it apperteyneth not
to a Wyse man to do any thyng that he may repent hym
of hit . and he ought to do no thyng aynst his Wyll :
But to do al thyng nobly . meurely . firmly & honestly /
yf he haue enuye vpon any . hit is folye / for he on Whom he
hath enuye is more honest and of more fauour than he
Whiche is so enuyous . For a man may haue none enuye
on another . but by cause he is more fortunat & hath more
grace than hym self / for enuye is a sorowe of corage that
cometh of this ordenaunce of the prouffyt of another man
and knowe thou verily that he that is ful of counte shal
neuer haue enuye of another . but thenuyous man seeth
and thynketh alwey that euery man is more noble . and
more fortunat than hym self / and saith alwey to hym self
that man Wynneth more than I / and myn neyghbours
haue more plenty of bestes / and he thynges multyplye
more than myn . and thefore thou oughtest knowe that
enuye is the most greetest wely synne that is / For she
tormenteth hym that hath her within hym . without to
mentenyng or doynge any harme to hym . on Whom he hath
enuye / And an enuyous man hath no vertu in hym self
For he corrupteth hym self for as moche as he hateth

alwey the Welthe and Virtues of other. And thus ought
they to kepe them that they take none euyl suspencion. for
a man naturally When his affection hath suspencion in any
man that he deneth that he doth. hit seemeth to hym Try
ly that it is don. And it is an euyl thyng for a man to
haue suspencion on hym self / For We rede that dionysse of
zecele a tyrant. Was so suspencious that he had so grete
fere and drede. for as moche as he Was hated of alle men
that he put his frendes out of theyr offyces that they had
and put other straungers in their places for to kepe his
body and chese such as Were right cruel and felons. and
for fere & doubte of the hurbours. he made his doughters
to leane shawe and hemle. and When they Were grete. he
Wold not they shold vse any yron to be occupped by them
but to brenne and senge his heris and menaced them
and durst not truste in them. And in like wyse they had
none affyaunce in hym. and also he did to enuyronne the
place where he lay wyth grete dyckes and browe lyke a cas
tel. and he entred by a drawe bridge which chosid after
hym. and his knyghtes laye wythout wyth his gardes
which Watched and kept straptly thys forteresse. & When
plato sawe thys said dionysse kynge of zecele thus enuy
roned and sette about wyth gardes and Watchmen for the
cause of his suspencion / sayd to hym openly tofore alle
men kynge Why hast thou won so moche euyl and harme.
that the behoueth to be kept wyth so moche pple. & therefore
I say that it aperteyneth not to any man that Wyll tru
ly behaue hym self in his Werkes to be suspencious. & also
they ought to be stronge and seure in theyr Werkes and

ſpecially they that ben maſters and mariners on the ſee, for yf they be numerous and feoful they ſhould make aſerde them that ben in their ſhippis / that knowe not the perilles . and ſo hit myght happen that by that drede and feare al men ſhould leue their labour / and ſo they myght be periſſhed and diſpayrid in their corages . For a ſhippe is ſoon periſſhed and loſt by a ſtil tempeſt / When the gouernour ſaylleth to gouerne his ſhippe for drede , and can geue no counceyl to other / thenne it is no meruaylle . though they be aſerde that ben in his gouernaunce . And therefore ought to be in them ſtrength . force and courage and ought to conſidere the peryles that myght falle . and the gouernour ſpecially ought not to doubte / and yf hit happyn that any perill falle he ought to promyſe to the other good hoop . and hit apperteyneth wel / that a man of good and hardy corage be ſette in that office . in ſuche wyſe that he haue ferme and ſeure mynde agens the perilles that oft tymes happen in the ſee . and wyth this ought the mariners haue good and ferme creaunce and beleue in god . and to be of good recomforte and of fayr langage vnto them that he gouerneth in ſuche perilles / And this ſuffyſeth to you as touchyng the labourers .

The third chapter of the third book treateth of the office
 of notaries aduocates seryuants and drapers or cloth
 makers capitulo lxix



The third paln Which is sette tofore the alphyn on
 the right syde ought to be fygyred as a clerke / and
 hit is reson that he shold so be for as moche as emonge
 the comune peple of Whom we speke in this boke they plete
 the differences contentions and causes other Whyle the
 Which behoueth the alphyns to geue sentence and Juge
 as Juges and hit is reson that the alphyn or Juge haue
 his notarye / by Whom the processe may be writen . And
 this paln ought to be maad and fygyred in this manere

He must be made like a man that holdeth in his right
 hand a payr of shers / or forsettis / and in the lyfte hand
 a grete knyfe and on his gurdal a penne: & an ynkhorn .
 and on his cere a penne to Wryte With / and that been the
 Instrumentis and the offyces that been maad and putte
 in Wrytyng autentique / and ought to haue passyn tofore
 the Judges as libelles Writs condempnacions: & sentences
 and that is signefied by the scripture and the penne and
 on that other parte hit aperceyneth to them to cutte clothe
 shere . dyght and dye / and that is signefied by the for
 settis or shers / and the other ought to shawe herdis and
 kemle the herdis . and the other ben coupers / coryers / cu
 dyers / skynners / bouchers / and cordwainers / and these
 ben signefied by the knyfe that he holdeth in hys hand . &
 some of thysse forsayd crafty men been named drapers or
 clothmakers for so moche as they werke With Wolle . and
 the notaries skynners Coryours and cordwainers werke
 by skynnes and hydes . as perchymyn velume / peltrie and
 cordwan / and the tayllours cutters of cloth / Veniers
 fullars / dyers . and many othe craftes occupie and vse
 Wulle . and al thysse crafty men & many othe that I haue
 not named ought to do theyr craft and mestier . Where as
 they ben duly ordeynyd curiously and trewly Also they
 ought to be amonge thysse crafty men amiable compaignes
 and trewe honest countenaunce / And trouth in theyr
 wordes / And hit is to bete that the notaries ben tregh
 prouffyttable and ought to be good and trewe for the co
 moun . And they ought to kepe them from appropyng to
 them self that thynge that aperceyneth to the comyn .

And yf they be good to them self, they ben good to other
and yf they be euyl for them self, they ben euyl for other
And the processs that ben maad tofore the Judges ought
to ben writen and passyd by them. And it is to bete that
by their writyng in the processs may come moche prouffit
And also yf they wryte otherwyse than they ought to do,
may ensewe moche harme and damage to the comyn /
Therefore ought they to take good heed that they chaunge
not ne coruupte in no wise the content of the sentence, for
than ben they first forsworne, and ben bounden to make a
mendis to them that by their trecherye they haue endama
ged / and also ought they to rede visite & to knowe the sta
tutes / ordinaunces & the lawes of the citis of the contre
where they dwelle and inhabite, and they ought to consi
dere yf there be any thyng therein conteyned ayenst right &
reason, and yf they fynde any thyng contrarie, they ought
to admoneste & warne them that gouerne, that suche thyn
ges may be chaunged in to better estate, for custume esta
blissed ayenst good maners and agaynst the fayth,
ought not to be holden by ryght. For as hit is sayd in the
decree in the chappitre tofore, all ordinaunce maad ayenst
right ought to be holden for nought. Alas who is now
that aduocate or notarye that hath charge to wryte and
kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the co
myn prouffyt or as moche as his owen, but alle drede of
god is put aback. And they deceyue the symple men /
& drawen them to the courtes disordenatly & constrayne
them to swere and make othes not couenable / and in as
semblyng the peple thus to gyde they make mo traysones

in the cytees thenne they make good alpaunces.
And otherwhile they waxe theyr souerayns. Whan they
may do hit couetly / For. there is no thyng at this day
that so moche groweth wme and I take as wth the college
of notaryes and aduocates publique / for they ben not of
one accorde. Alas and in Engelond What hurte don the
aduocates men of lawe and attorneyes of court to the co/
myn peple of the wyame as wel in the spiritual lawe as
in the temporalle. how torne they the lawe and statutes
at their plesure. how etc they the peple. how enpouere they
the comynite. I suppose that in alle cristendom are not so
many pletures attorneyes and men of the lawe as ben in
england onely. for yf they were nombred alle that longe
to the courtes of the chaunserye. kyngees bench. comyn
place. cheler. ressaynt. and helle / and the bygge benches of
the same hit shold amounte to a grete multitude. And
how al thys lyue and of whom yf hit shold be vntid and
tolde hit shold not be beleuyd for they entende to there syn
guler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn. how wel
they ought to be of good wyll to god. And admoneste
warne the cytees eke in his right in such wyse that they
myght haue pees and loue one wyth another. Tullyus
saith that frendshyp and good wyll that one ought to
haue ayenst another for the wele of hym that he loueth.
With the semblable wyll of hym ought to be put forth
tofore al other thynges. and ther is no thyng so respyng
and lyke to the bees that makey long ne so couenable in
prosperite and in adue:site as is loue. For by loue
gladly the bees holden them to gyde.

and yf any trespase to that other anon they wenne vpon
the malefactor for to punyssh hym . and wery trewe loue
fayleth neuer for wele ne for euyl . and the most swete &
the most comfortyng thyng is for to haue a frend to Whō
a man may say his secret as wel as to hym self . but be-
trayly amytie and frendshyp is somtyme foundyd vpon
some thyng delectable . and this amytie cometh of yongthe
in the which dwelleth a disordynate hete / & otherwhyle amytie
is founded vpon honeste / and this amytie is vertuous /
of the which tullius saith that there is an amytie vertu-
ous by the which a man ought to do to his frende al that
he requyret by reason . for for to do to hym a thyng disho-
nest it is ayenst the nature of wery frendshyp & amytie
And thus for frendshyp ne for fauour a man ought
not to do any thyng vnreasonable ayenst the comyn
prouffyt ne agaynst his fayth ne agaynst his othe . For
yf alle tho thynges that the frendes desyre and requyre
were accomplyshed and don / yet shold seme that they
shold be dyshoneste coniurations . And they myght o-
therwhyle more greue and hurte than proffyte and ayde .
And herof sayth Senecque that Amytie is of suche wyll
as the frende wyll . And to refuse that ought to be re-
fused by reason . And yet he saith more . that a man ought
to alowe & prays his frend tofore the peple / & to correcte &
to chastyse hym pryncely / for the lawe of amytie is suche .
for a man ought not to demaunde ne to be don to hys
frende no vplayne thyng that ought to be kept secreete
And Valerian sayth that it is a foule thyng and an
euyl excusacion . yf a man confesse that he hath don any

eupl for his frende agensst right and reason . And sayth
that there Was a good man named cassile Which had
one his frende requyre of hym a thyng dishoneste Which
he wyped & Wold not do / & than his frende said to hym in
grete despyte What newe haue I of thy frendship & amptea
Whan thou wilt not do that thyng that I requyre of the .
& cassile answered to hym . What newe haue I of the frendship
& of the amptea of the . yf I shold do for the thyng dishonest
and thus loue is founded otherwhile . vpon good prouff
table & this loue endureth as longe as he seeth his prouff
fyt . and how men say a comyn prouerbe in england / that
loue lasteth as longe as the money endureth : Whan the
money faileth than there is no loue : & Varro rehercyth in
his somes, that the rich men ben al lound by this loue . for
their frendes ben like as the huske Which is about the
grayn . and no man may proue his frende so wel as in ad
uersite . or Whan he is poute . for the very trewe frende say
leth at no newe / & seneque saith that some folowe the emper
our for riches . & so wen the flies the honey for the sweetenes
& the Wolf the carayn . And these compaigne folowe the
praye / and not the man . And Cullpus sayth that car
quyn the proude had a newe of his suster Which Was
named Brutus * and this newe had kynssled carquyn
out of rome and had sent hym in exyle . And than sayd
he fyrst that he perceyued and knewe his frendes Whyche
were trewe and vntrewe . & that he neuer perceyued afore
tyme Whan he Was prouissant for to do thet Wyll . & sayd
wel that the loue that they had to hym / endured not but
as longe as hit Was to them proufftable .

and therefore ought al the rich men of the world take heed
he they kynges prynces or dukes to what people they do
prouffyt and how they may and ought be lord of their
peple. For catton sayth in his booke / see to whom thou
gouernest. & this loue which is founded vpon their prouffite
which faileth and endureth not, may better be called and
sayd marchaundise than loue / for yf we repute this loue
to our prouffyt onely. & no thyng to the prouffyt of hym
that we loue, it is more marchaundise than loue / for he
buyeth our loue for the prouffyt that he doth to vs / And
therefore sayth the wise man these two verses. Tempore fe-
lici multi numerantur amici / Cum fortuna perit nullus
amicus erit. Which is to say in englyssh that as longe
as a man is cerryous and fortunat he hath many frendes
but when fortune turneth and perissheth there abydeth not
to hym one frende. and of this loue ben loued the medowes
trees felles, trees & the bestes for the prouffyt that men
take of them, but the loue of the men ought to be charite
very gracious and pure by good sayth / And the very
true frendes ben knowen in pure aduantage. And pierce
alphonse sayth in his booke of Moralitye that there was a
philosophre in Arabye that had an onely sone / of whom
he demaunded what frendes he had gotten hym in his lyf
And he answered that he had many / and his fader sayd to
hym. I am an olde man and yet coude I neuer fynde but
one frende in al my lyf, and I trowe verely that it is no
lytyl thyng for to haue a frende / and hit is wel gatter &
more a man to haue many / and hit apperteyneth and beho-
ueth a man to assaye and proue his frende or he haue neede

and thenne comaunded the philosopher his sone .that he
shold goo and slee a wyne /and put hit in a sacke and
sayne that it was a man dede that he had slayn and bere
hit to his frendes for to burye hit secretly / And when the
sone had don as his fader comaunded hym and had requy-
red his frendes one after another as afore is sayd /
they denyed hym and answered to hym that he was a wy-
layne to requyre and desire of them thynge that was so pe-
rilous . And than he came agayn to his fader and sayd
to hym how he had requyred al his frendes . And that he
had not founden one that wold helpe hym in his nede .
And than his fader sayd to hym that he shold goo and
requyre his frende whiche had but one . and requyre hym
that he shold helpe hym in his nede . and when he had re-
quyred hym . And none he put out al his mayne out of his
holles . and when they were out of the wyne or a floure . he
doyd to make secretly a pytte in the grounde / and when he
was redy and wold haue buryed the body . he founde hit
an hogge or a wyne and not a man / and thus this sone
preuyd this man to be a very trewe frende of his fader
And preuyd that his frendes were fals frendes of fortune
And yet reherceth the sayd pierce Alphonse that there
were two marchauntes one of handach and that other of
Egypt whiche were so ioyned togeder by so grete frend-
shipp that he of handach cam on a tyme for to se his frende
in Egypt of whom he was receyuyd right comurably
And this marchaunt of Egypt had in his holles a fayre
ponge mayden whom he shold haue had in mariage to
hym self . Of the whiche mayde this marchaunt of

bandach was espoused with her loue so ardantly that he
was right seek and that men supposed hym to dye. And
than the other dyd so come the phisiciens which sayd that
in hym was no sickness sauf passion of loue / Thanne he
sayd of the seek man yf there were ony woman in hys
holle that he loued and maad al the women of his holle
to come tofore hym / And than he chere her that sholdy
haue ben that others wyf and sayd that he was seek for
her. Than his frende sayd to hym. frende comforte your
self / for truly I gyue her to you to wyf with alle the do/
waite that is gyuen to me wyth her. and hady leuer to suf
fer to be wyth out wyf than to lese the body of his frende.
And than he of bandach wedded the mayde. And went
with his wyf and with his richesse agayn in to his contree
And after this anone after hit happend that the mar
chaunt of Egypt became so poure by euyl fortune. that he
was constrained to seelz and leage his breer. by the con
tray in so moche that he cam to bandach and whan he entrid
in to the toun hit was dark nyght that he coude not fynde
the holle of his frende. But went and lay thys nyght in
an old temple. And on the morne whan he sholdy yssue
out of the temple / the officers of the toun arested hym
and sayd that he was an homycide and had slayn a man
which lay there dede. And anone he confessid hit wyth a
good wyll. and had leuer to ben hanged. than to dye in
that miserable and pouer lyf that he suffryd. And thus
whan he was brought to Jugement. and sentence sholdy
beue ben gyuen ayenst hym as an homycide. This frend of
bandach cam and saue hym and anone knelle that thys

Was his good frende of egypte . And forth wyth stepte
in and sayd that he hym self was culpable of the deth of
this man and not that other and enforaid hym in alle
maners for to deliuer and excuse that other . And than
Whan that he that had won the feet and had slayne the
man sawe this thyng / he considered in hym self that these
two men were innocent / of thys feet . And doubtyng the
dwyne Jugement . he came tofore the Juge & confessed
al the feet by ordre / And Whan the Juge sawe and herd
al thys mater and also the causes he considered the ferme
and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes and
vnderstood the cause why that one wold saue that other
and the trowth of the fayte of the homycide . And than he
pardoned al the feet fully and entirely . And after the
marchaunt of landach brought hym of egypt wyth hym in
to his hows / And gaf to hym his sister in marriage and
departed to hym half his goodes . and so both of hem were
rich / and thus were they both very faythful and trewe
frendes . Furthermore notaries . men of lawe & crafty
men shold and ought to loue eche other and also ought to
be coneyrent chaste and honeste . For by theyr craftes they
ought so to be by necessitye . For they conueyse and ac-
compane them ofte tyme wyth women / And therefore hit
apperteyneth to them to be chaste and honeste / And that
they meue not the women nor entyse them to lacherye and
Jape by any dysordynate ensignes or tokenes / Titus li-
uius reherceth that the philosopher democreon dyd so put
out his eyen for as muche as he myght not beholde the wo-
men wyth out flesshly desyre . And hold wel it is sayd

Before that he dyd hit for otheer certeyn cause yet was this
one of the pryncipal causes. And Valerian telleth that
there was a yong man of some of right excellent beaulte
And hold wel that he was right chaste. for as moche as
his beaulte meuyd many women to desire hym, in so moche
that he vnderstood that the parentes and formers of them
had suspicion in hym, he dyd his bysage to be kutte wyth
a knyfe and lancettus endlong and euathwart for to de-
forme his bysage. and had leuer haue a folle bysage and
disformed, than the beaute of his bysage shold maue o-
ther to synne. And also we rede that there was a Monne
a Virgyn dyd so put out bothe her eyes. For as moche as
the beaute of her eyes meuyd a kynge to loue her, wherfore
she sente to the kynge in a present. And also we rede
that plato the right ryche phylosopher lefte his owne lande
and contrie, and chace his mansion and dwelling in acha-
dome a town, which was not onely destroyed but also
was ful of pestelence, so that by the cure and charge and
custodie of sorow that he there suffrid, myght eschewe
the lettes and occasions of lechery. And many of his
disciples dyed in lyke wyse. / helemand reherceth that de-
mostene the philosopher laye once by a noble woman for
his dyspote, and playeng wyth her, he demaunded of her
what he shold geue to haue to do wyth her, and she answered
to hym a thousand pns. / he sayd agayn to her I shold
repente me to bye hit so deere, and when he aduysed hym
that he was so fore chauffyd to speke to her for to accom-
plisse his fleshly desyre, he despoiled hym al naked and
wente and put hym in the myddes of the snowe. / And

Ouyr reheraith that thys thyng is the leste that maye
helpe and most greue the louers / and therfore saynt au-
gustyn reheraith in his booke de ciuitate dei that there was
a right noble romayn named Marcellian that Wan and
took the noble cite of Siracuse And tofore as he dyd do
assayle hit or besight hit / & or he had do lessede any blood
he wepte and shedde many teeris tofore the cite / and that
was for the cause that he doubted that his peple shold be /
foule and corrupte to moche dishonestly the chastite of the
toun .and ordeyned vpon payn of deth that no man shold
be so hardy to take and defoule any Woman by force that
that euere she were .After thys the crafty men ought to
vnderstande for to be trewe .and to haue truth in hys mou-
thes / And that theyr deas folowe theyr wordes . For he
that sayth one thyng and doth another he condemneth
hym self by his word / also they ought to see wel to that
they be of one accorde in good / by entente / by word .and
by dede .so that they be not discordant in no cas / But
that euery man haue pure verite and truth in hym self .
For god hym self is pure verite / and may say comynly
that truth seeketh none hemes ne corners .and truth is
a vertu by the Whiche alle drewe and fraude is put away /
Men saye trewly when they saye that they knowe . And
they that knowe not trouthe .ought to knowe hyt . And
alwey vso trouthe . for saynt austyn sayth that they that
wene to knowe trouthe . and spueith euyl and vncynsly
it is folye yf he knoweth hit not / and also he sayth in an
other place that it is better to suffre pain for trouthe . than
for to haue a benefete by falsnes or by flatterye . And man

that is callyd a beste reasonable and with not his wakyng
after reason and trouthe . is more bestial than any beste
brute . and knowe ye that for to come to the trouthe , hit
cometh of a reasonable foresight in his mynde . And lyeng
cometh of an outrageous and contrarie thought in hys
mynde , for he that lyeth wittingly , knoweth wel that hit
is agaynst the trouthe that he thynketh , and herof speaketh
saynt leonard and sayth . that the mouth that lyeth defileth
troweth the soule . and yet sayth saynt austyn in another
place . for to say one thyng and do the contrarye , maketh
doctryne suspicious . And knowe ye verily that for to lye
is a right perilous thyng to body and soule . For the lye
that the auncient enemye made eue and Adam to beleue
hym , made hem for to be dampned with alle their lignage
to the death pardurable and made hem to be cast out of para-
dyse terrestre . For he made them to beleue that god had
not forbidden them the fruyt / but onely by cause they shold
not knowe that her mayster knewe / but how wel that the
deuyl sayd thysse wordes / yet had he double entente to hem
both / For they knewe anon as they had tasted of the
fruyt that they were dampned to the death pardurable .
And god knewe hit wel tofore . but they supposyd wel to
haue knowen many other thynges , and to be lyke vnto
his knowleche and scienc . And therefore saith saynt poule
in a pistyl . hit ne apperteyneth to sauie or knowe more
than behoueth to sauie or knowe . but to sauie or knowe
by mesure or sobrietye / And Valerian writeth that there
was a good woman of firacusan that hold not lye vnto
the kynge of Seille whiche was namede dyoryse . and

this kyng Was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle
the World desired his deth and cursid hym. Saus this Wo
man onely Whiche Was so olde that she had seen in or four
kynges reynynge in the contre .and euery mornynge as
sone as she Was risen she prayed to god that he wold
gyue vnto the tyraunt good lyf and longe and that she
myght neuer see his deth / And When the kyng dyonise
knewe this he sent for her ,and meruaylled moche herof
for he knewe wel that he Was sore hated and demaunded
her . What cause meyd her to praye for hym ? she answered
and sayd to hym. sir When I Was a mayde We had a right
euyl tyraunt to our kyng of Whom We coueyted for the
deth and When he Was dede there came after hym a worse
of Whom We coueyted also the deth .and When We were de
liuerd of hym. thou comest to be our lord Which art worse
of al other. and now I doubt yf We haue one after the he
shal be worse than thou art /and therfore I shal praye for
the ,and When dyonise vnderstood that she Was so hardy
in sayeng the trowth he durst not do torment her for shame
by cause she Was so olde .

The fourth chapiter of the third booke twelfth of the mane
of the fourth pallyn & of the marchantis or chaungers in iiii



The fourth pallyn is sette tofore the kynge .and is
e formed in the forme of a man holdynge in his right
hand a balaunce and the weyght in the lyft hand . and to
fore hym a table / and at his gurdal a purse ful of money
redy for to geue to them that requyred hit . and by thys
peple ben signefyed the marchauntes of cloth lynnyn and
Wollen and of al other marchaundyfes , and by the table
that is tofore hym is signefyed the chaungers and they
that lene money / & they that bye and selle by the weyght
ben signefyed by the balaunces / and weyghtes And the

customers tollars and receyours of rentes & of money
 ben signefied by the purse and knowe ye that alle they
 that ben signefied by this peple ought to flee auarice and
 couetyse and eschele brekyng of the dayes of payment &
 ought to holde and kepe theyr promyses & ought also to
 rendre and restore that, that is goun to them to kepe / &
 therefore hit is reson that this peple be set tofore the kynge
 for as moche as they signefye the receyours of the tre-
 sours rial that ought alwey to be redy tofore the kyng &
 to an/war for hym to the knyghtes and to other per-
 sones for theyr wages and souldoyes & therefore haue I said that
 they ought to flee auarice. For auarice is as moche to
 say as an adouer or as worshipper of false ymages and
 herof sayth tullius that auarice is a couetise to gete that
 thyng that is aboue necessite and it is a loue disordynate
 to haue ony thyng & it is one of the worst thynges that is
 & specially to prynces & to them that gouerne the thynges
 of the comune. and this vyce causeth a man to do euyl
 and this wyng euyl is when hit reygneeth in olde men &
 herof sayth Seneque that all worldly thynges ben mor-
 telled and appetised in olde men reserved auarice onely
 whiche alwey abydweth wyth hym and dweth wyth hym /
 But I vnderstonde not wel the cause wherof this cometh
 ne wherfore hit may be, And hit is a folle thyng and
 contrarie to reson that when a man is at the ende of his
 Journey for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vi-
 tyl than hym behoueth & this may wel be likened to the
 auaricious Wolf. for the Wolf dweth neuer good tyl he be
 dede and thus it is sayd in the prouerbes of the Wyse men

that thauaricious man with no good tyl that he be dede.
and he exsisteth no thyng but to lyue long in this synne,
for the courteous man cerdynly is not good for any thyng
for he is euyl to hym self & to the rich & to the poore and
fyndeth cause to gaignsay theyr wylle, & he wylle say se
neque & sayth that antigonus Was a couetous pryncer, &
Whan tynque Which Was his frende requyred of hym a be
saunt / he answered to hym that he demaunded more than hys
apperteyned to hym / & than tynque constrained by grette
necessite ayde & requyred of hym a peny / & he answered to
hym that it Was no yeste couenable for a kyng. and so he
Was alwey redy to fynde a cause nought to geue. For he
myght haue goun to hym a besaunt as a kyng to his
frende and the peny as to a poore man. & ther is no thyng
so lital but that the humanyte of a kyng may geue hys
auarice ful of couetise is a maner of al vices of luxurce
& Josephus wherewith in the booke of alient histories. that
ther Was in rome a right noble lady named paulyne / and
Was of the most noble of rome. right honest for the no
blesse of chastite / Which Was maryed in the tyme that
the Women glorified them in theyr chastite vnto a
yonge man / fayr noble and rich aboue al other & Was
lyke and semblable to his wyf in al causes. And this
paulyne Was belouyd of a knyght namyd enymerancian
and Was so ardantly esprised in her loue that he sent to
her many right rich yestes, and made to her many grette
promyses / but he myght neuer torne the herte of her Which
Was on her syde also colde and harde, as marbyll. But
he had leuer to refuse his yestes and hys promyses.

Than to entende to couetyse and to lose her chastyte. & We
rede also in the histories of Rome that there Was a noble
lady of Rome Whiche lyued a solitarie lyf & Was chaste; &
honeste. & had gadrid to geder a grate some of golde. and
had hyd hit in the cathe in a pytte Wyth in her holles. & When
she Was deed the bysshop dyd so burye her in the chyrche Wel
and honestly/ and anone after this golde Was founden and
boryn to the bysshop/ and the bysshop had to caste hit in to the
pytte Where she Was buried. & thre dayes men herd ha crye
& make grete noyse / & say that she brenned in grate pain
and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in the chir/
che. the neyghbours Went vnto the bysshop & tolde hym
therof / & the bysshop gaf hem leue to open the sepulchre. &
When they had openyd hit. they fonde al the golde molten
With fire ful of sulpher. & Was poured & put in her mouth
& they herd one say. thou desirdest this gold by couetyse.
take hys and drynke hit. And thenne they took the
body out of the tombe / And hit Was cast out in a prey
place. Senecus rehercith in the booke of the cures of
Women that auarice is foundement of alle vices. And
Valerian rehercith that auarice is a ferdful garde or keper
of riches. for he that hath on hym or in his keepynge
moche money or other riches. is alwey a ferd to lose hit
or to be robbid or to be slayn therfore. & he is not euous
nez happy that by couetyse getith hit. & al the euyls of this
Vice of auarice had a man of Rome named septenuille. for
he Was a friend of one named tarchus. & this septenuille
brent so sore & so cruelly in this synne of couetyse. that he
had no shame to synge of the hede of hys friend by trayson

For as moche as one framofian had promysed to hym as
moche weyght of pure gold as the heed Waped. & he bare
the said heed vpon a staf thurgh the cite of rome and he
voyded the brayn out therof & filled hys ful of heed for to
weye the heuyar, this was a right horrible & cruel auarice
Ptolome kyng of egipcians purfelled auarice in another
maner. for When anthonie emperour of rome sawe that he
was right rich of gold & siluer he had hym in grete hate &
tormentid hym right cruelly and When he shold perisshe by
cause of his riches. he toke al his hauior & put hys in a
shipp: & Wene With alle in to the hys see to thende for to
drowne & perisshe there the shipp and his riches by cause
anthonye his enemye shold not haue hit, & When he was
there he durst not perisshe hit na myght not fynde in hys
hate to departe from hit. but cam & brought hit agayn in
to his shipp where he receyved the rewarde of wth therfore
& With out doute he was not lord of the riches but the
richesse was lady ouer hym, & therfore hit is said in prouer
he that a man ought to seignorie ouer the riches & not for
to serue hit. & yf thou canst welly vse thy riches than she
is thy chamberer. & yf thou can not departe from hit & vse
hit honestly at thy plesure. knowe verily that she is thy
lady for the riches neuer satisfieth the couetous. but the
more he hath the more he desireth & saluste saith that auarice
dystroubleth fayth wiste honeste & al thise other good
vertues / And taketh for thise vertues / pryde / cruelte
and to forgete god. and sayth that al thynges be vendable
And after this they ought to be Ware that they lene not
to moche ner make so grete creaunces by which they may

fallē in pouerte, for saynt ambrose saith vpon thobz. pouerte
hath no falshē / for to owe hit is a shame / & to owe and not
paye is a more shame. yf thou be poure be ware how thou do
rowest, & thynke how thou mayst paye & rendre agayn yf
thou be riche thou hast no neede to borrowe & owe. & it is said
in the prouerbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wilt
not nez mayst rendre & paye agayn. & also hit is sayd in
reproche whan I lene I am thy frende / & whan I owe I am
thy enemye. as also saith god at the lencyng & the wyll
atte rendryng. & seneke saith in his auctorites that they
that gladly borrowe ought gladly to paye. & ought to fur-
moult in corage to loue hem the better by cause they lene
hem & ayde hem in hir neede. for benefetes & good turnes don
to a man ought to gyue hym thankyngees therfore and
more ought a man to repaye that is lent hym in
his neede. but now in these dayes many men by lencyng of
their money haue made of their frendes enemyes. & herof
spelieth domas the philosopher: & saith that my frende bor-
rowed money of me & I haue lost my frende & my money.
there was a marchaunt of gene & also a changeour: whos
name was albert ganor: & this albert was a man of grete
trowth and loyalte. for on a tyme there was a man cam
to hym and sayd and affermyd that he had deliueryd
in to his kinne v hundred flozins of gold to kepe which
was not trowth for he lyed. which v flozins the said
albert knewe not of na coude fynde in al his booke any
suche money to hym due. & this lyar coude bringe no wgt
nes. but began to braye & crye & defame the said albert / &
than this albert calld to hym this marchaunt and sayd

was fownd take hys v hundred florens which thou offer :
most & surest that thou hast deliuerd to me , & forthwith
tolde hym and toke hym to hym ' & so this good man had
leuer to lose his good than his good name and renome .
and this othe marchaunt toke these florens that he had
Wrongfully receyved . and employed them in ouerse mar
chaundise in so moche that he gate and encreased and had
With them v thousand florens / and when he sawe that
he appoched toward his death ' and that he had no children,
he establisshd albert his heyr in al thynges ' & sayd that
With the v hundred florens that he had receyved of albert
falsely he had gotten alle that he had in the world / & thus
by deuynt purueiance he that had be a theef fraudulent . Was
maad after ward a true procurour & atorney of the sayd
albert / But now in thys dayes there be marchaunts that do
marchaundise With othe menngs money Which is taken
to hym to kepe . & when they ben requyred to repaye hit ,
they haue no shame to denye hit awerthly / Wherof hit hapned
that ther was a marchant Which had a good & a grete na
me and renome of keepyng wel such thynges as was de
liuerd to hym to kepe . but when he sawe place & tyme , he
receyved hit lyke a theef . so hit befel that a marchant of
Without forth had the good reporte & fame of this man ,
cam to hym & deliuerd hym grete tresour to kepe / & thys
tresour abode in yere in his keepyng / & after this thre yere
thys marchaunt came and requyred to haue his good de
liuerd to hym agayn . And thys man knewe wel that he
had no recorde ne witnes to preue on hym this duete / nor
he had no obligacion ne wrytyng of hym therof .

In suche wyse that he denyed al entierly and sayd playn-
ly he knewe hym not. and When this good man herd and
vnderstood this. he went sorrowfully. and weeping from
hym so fere and longe that an olde Woman mette wyth
hym and demaunded of hym the cause of his weeping.
and he sayd to her Woman hit apercayneth no thyng to the
good thyng I saye. And she prayed hym that he wold telle her
the cause of his sorowe. For peradventure she myght geue
hym counceyl good and profituble. and thenne this man
tolde to her by order the cause of his fortune. and the olde
Woman that was wyse and subtil demaunded of hym if
he had in that cite any frende whiche wold be faythful and
trewe to hym. and he sayd yee. that he had dyuerse frende.
Then sayd she good thou to them and saye to them that
they doo prayne and bye dyuerse cofres and chestes. And
that they doo fylle them wyth some olde thynges of no va-
lue. & that they sayne & say that they be ful of golde filur
and other Jewels. and of moche grette tresour. & thenne
that they bryng them to this sayd marchaunt. & to say to
hym that he wold kepe the. for as moche as they had grette
trust in hym. & also that they haue herd of his grette trouthe
& good renome. & also they wold go in to fet contrie. and
shold be longe & they returned agayn. & whille they speke
to hym of this matter. thou shalt come vpon them & requyre
hym that he doo deliuer to the. that thou tokest to hym. &
I trowe by cause of this good man that than shal profite to
hym the sayd tresour. and for the couetise to haue hit. he
shal deliuer to the this good agayn. but be ware late hym
not knowe they be n thy good frendes na of thy kinoldred.

This was a grete and good counceyl of a Woman / and
verily it cometh of nature often tymes to Women to geue
counceyl shortly and vnadvisedly to thynges that ben in
doubt or perilous and needeth hasty remedye . and as ye
haue herd . this good man dyd . and did after her coun-
ceyl . and came vpon them when they spak of the matre to
the marchaunt for to deliuer to hym the sayn cofres to
hys which his frendes had sayned and requyred of hym
that he had taken to hym to kepe / and than anon the sayd
marchaunt sayd to hym I knowe the nobb wel . for I haue
advised me that thou art such a man / and comest to me
such a tyme / and deliuered to me such a thyng whiche
I haue wel kept . and thenne callyd his clerk . and had
hym goo fetch such a thyng in such a place and deliuer
hit to that good man / for he deliuerd hit to me / and than
the good man receyvyd his good . and went his waye
right ioyously and glad . and this marchaunt trichour &
deceyuour was defrauded from his euyl malice . and he ne
had neyther that one ne that other ony thyng that was
of value . and therefore hit is sayd in prouerbe to defraude
the legiler is no fraude and he that doth wel foloweth our
lord / and senek sayth that charite enseigneth and teacheth
that men shold paye wel / for good payement is somtyme
good confessyon . And this marchaunt trichour and de-
ceyuour resemblith and is lyke to an hound that bereth
a chese in his mouth when he swymmeth ouer a Water .
for when he is on the Watre . he seeth the shadowe of the
chese in the Watre / and than he weneth hit be another chese
& for couetyse to haue that . he openyth his mouth to catch

that & than the cheste that he hath fallith down in to the wa-
ter . and thus he loseth bothe the woe & in the same wyse was
scrupd this marchaunt deceptuour / for for to haue the cofres
Whiche he had not seen he deluded agayn that he wolde
haue holden Wrongfully . and thus by his couetise & worse
malice he was decepted . and therefore hit apperayneth
to euery good and wyse man to knowe and consider in
hym self how moch he hath receyued of other men . : Open
What condycion hit was answered to hym / and it is to witte
that this thyng apperayneth to deceptours and to chaun-
geours . and to alle true marchauntis and other : What
that someuer they be / and ought to kepe theiir bookes of
resaytes and of payementes of Whom and to Whom : What
tyme and day / and yf ye demaunde What thyng maketh
them to forgete such thynges as ben taken to them to kepe
I answer and say that it is grete couetise for to haue the
thynges to them self and neuer to departe from them . and
hit is alle he thought & desire to assemble alle the goodes
that they may gete . for they beleue on none other god .
But on hir riches they sette ben so obstynat . and this
suffyseth of the marchauntis .

The fifte chapiter of the thyrd booke treateth of physiciens melancynes speeres and appotiquaries capitulo 5



The paly that is sette tofore the quene signefieth
 the physicien / spier: apotiquare and is formed in the
 figure of a man / and he is sette in a chayer as a maister
 and holpeth in his right hand a booke and an ampe or a
 bove With oynementis in his left hand and at his gward
 his instrumentis of yron and of siluer for to make Inci-
 sions and to seche woundes and hurtes, and to cutte ap-
 tumes. And by these thynges ben knowen the surgyens
 By the booke ben vnderstonen the phisiciens and all gra-
 mariens . logyans / maysters of labe of geometre ,

arismetrique. musique and of astronomye and by the am-
ple ben signefyed the makers of pygmentaries spices &
apptiquaries / and they that make confecacions and confi-
tes and medecynes maad wth precious spyce / And by
the ffaremens and Instrumentis that hangen on the
gurdal ben signefyed the Surgens and the maysters
and knowe ye forcerteyn that a maystre and physicion
ought to knowe the proportions of lettres of gramayre .
the monemens the conclusions and the sophymes of logi-
que / the gracious speche and vtterance of rethorique .
the mesures of the houres and dayes and of the cours of
astronomye . the nombre of arismetrique. and the ioyous
songes of musique and of al thysse tofore named the
maysters of rethorique ben the chiefe maysters in spirita-
tyl. and the two last that ben practiciens and workers ben
callyd physiciens and surgens . how wel they ben sage
and curious in thysse sciences and how wel that maner
lyf is otherwhyle put in thordonaunce of the physicion or
surgon yf he haue not sageffe and wysedom in hym self
of dyuerse wytynges and is not expert and medlyth
hym in the craft of physique he ought better be callyd a
flear of peple than a phisician or surgon . For he may
not be a maystre but yf he be sellir and expert in the craft
of phisike that he slee not moe than he cureth and maketh
hoole / and therfore sayth auycenne in an anfortisme yf
thou curest the seek man . And knowest not the cause .
Wherof the maladye ought to be cured . hit ought to be
sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and happe more
than by any kunnyng . And in al thysse maner of peple

they ought to be meure of good maners / and of Wordes / chaste of the body promysse of helthe and as to them that ben seek contynuel byfytacion of them and they ought to enquire the cause of theyr sickenesse and the signes and tokens of theyr maladies as is referid in the booke of the auctours by right grette diligence, and specially in the booke of yperac gahene and of aurecne, and When many maysters and phisiens ben assembled tofore the patient or seke man. They ought not there to argue and dispute one agaynst another. But they ought to make good and symple colacion to gedre in suche wyse as they be not seen in theyr dysputyng one agaynst another. for to encrease and gete more glory of the World to them self than to trete the salute and helthe of the patient and seke man. A maruaylle Why that When they see and knowe that When the seke man hath grette neede of helthe, Wherefore than they make grette obiccion of contrarioufnes for as moche as the lyf of man is demened and put amonge them but hit is by cause that he is reputed most sage and Wyse that argueth and byngeth in most subtiltees. And alle this maner is amonge doctours of lawe that tretith no thyng of mannes lyf but of temporal thynges that he is holden most Wyse and best lerned that by hys counceyl can best accorde the contentions and dysfencions of men / and therefore ought the phisiens and surgyens leue When they be tofore the seke men al dysfencions and contrarioufnes of Wordes in suche Wyse that hit appere that they studye more for to cure the seke man than for to dispute. And therefore is the phisician duly sette tofore

the quene .so that it is figured that he ought to haue in
hym self chastyte and contynence of body / For hit apper-
teyneth som tyme vnto the phisician to visite and cur-
rencyces duchesses and countesses and alle other ladies &
see and beholde some secreete sekenessis that falle and come
othe: While in the secretis of nature . And therfore hit ap-
perteyneth to them that they be chaste and folowe honeste
and chastyte / and that they be ensauple to other of good
contynence . For Valerian rehercieth that yppocras Was of
meruayllous contynence of his body . For When he Was
in the scoles of athenes he had by hym a right fayr Wo-
man Whiche Was comyn and the yonge scoles and the
Joly felawes that Were students promysed to the Woman
a besaunte yf she myght or coude torne the corage of ypp-
ocras for to haue to don Wyth her and she came to hym by
nyght and dyd so moche by her craft that she laye Wyth
hym in his bedde / But she coude neuer do so moche that
she myght corumpe his chaste lyuynge ne defoule the crowne
of his conscience . and When the yonge men knewe that
she had ben Wyth hym al the nyght . & coude not chaunge
his contynence . they began to mocque her and to aske &
demaunde of her the besaunte that they had geuen to her .
And she answered that hit Was holde and gagede vpon
an ymage . for as moche as she myght not chaunge hye
contynence she callyd hym an ymage and in semblable
Wyse rehercieth Valerian of Socrates philosophet that
there laye Wyth hym a Woman alle nyght and tempted
hym dysordonatly / but that right chaste man made ne
uer semblaunt to her / ne: he neuer remeuyd from hye

ferme purpooe/ in such Wylle as she departed from hym al
confused and shamed / Cornelius scipion that was sent
by the romayns for to gouerne spayn, as sone as he entrid
in to the castellys and in to the towne of that londe . he
began to take a weye al tho thynges that myght sterc or
meue his men to licheye . Wherfore men sayd that he drof
and chased out of the host moo than two thousand four
thysse . and he that was wylle kinde wel that delyte of le
cherye corrupted and amayd the courages of tho men that
ben abandoned to the same delyte And herof it is sayd
in the fables of the poetes in the first booke of the tryples
of the philosophres by figure . that they that entrid in to
the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens / Were corrup
ped and they took them a weye wyth hem / And also ye
ought to knowe that they ought to entere dyligently to
the cures of the infirmytees in cyrurgerye . they ought to
make theyr plaisters accordyng to the woundes of soores
yf the wounde be rounde the enplastre must be rounde . and
yf hit be longe . hit must be longe . And other whyle hit
must be cured by his contraye . lyke as it apperteyneth to
physique . for the hete is cured by colde . and the colde by hete
and Joye by sorowe . and sorowe by Joye . and hit hapeth
ofte tymes that moche peple be in grette paylle in takyng
to moche Joye and lese her membris . and become half beno
men in the sorow Joye . and ioye is a replecion of thyng
that is delectable sprad a brode in alle the membris wyth
right grette gladnes . and al men entende and desyre to
haue the sayd right grette Joye naturelly . but they knowe
not what may ensue & come therof . and this Joye cometh

other while of vertue of conscience / And the Wise man is
not wyth out this ioye and this Joye is neuer interrupt
ne in defaulte at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and
fortune may not take away that nature geueth . 2 martial
sayth that Joyes fugetyues abyde not long . but fle away
anone . and Valerian rehercieth that he that hath force and
strength reasonable . hath hit of veray matier of cōplectōn
and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as moche
power to departe the soule fro the body . as hath the thonder
Wherof hit happend that there was a Woman named Lina
Whiche had her husband in the Warre in the shippes of
the romayns . and she supposid verayly that he was ded
but hit happend that he came agayn home . and as he en
trid in to his gate / his Wyf mette Wyth hym so raynly not
warned of his comyng / Whiche was so gladd and Joyous
that in embracyng hym she fel down ded . Also of ano
ther Woman to Whom was reported by a fals messenger
that her sone was ded . Whiche went hom sorrowfully to
her hous . and after ward when her sone came to her . as sone
as she sawe hym she was so esmoued Wyth Joye that she
deyed tofore hym . but this is not so grette meruayle of
Women as is of the men . For the Women ben lykened
vnto softe Waxe or softe ayer . and therefore she is called
Mullier Whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis aer
and in englyssh softer ayer . and hit supbeth ofte tymes that
the nature of them that ben softe and meke . taketh soner
Inpressyon than the nature of men that be hard 2 stronge
Valerie rehercieth that a knyght ofrome named instaulo
sus that had nobly cōquered 2 subdued the yle of corsūia

ferme purpoores in such Wyse as she departed from hym al
confused and shamed / Cornelius scipion that Was sent
by the romayns for to gouerne spayn, as sone as he entrid
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meue his men to lecherye . Wherfore men sayd that he drof
and chasid out of the hoost moo than two thousand our
dyllys and he that Was Wyse knewe Wel that wyte of le/
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in the fables of the poetes in the first booke of the trauyles
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ought to knowe that they ought to entende dyligently to
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yf the wounde be rounde the enplastre must be rounde, and
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physique, for the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete
and Joye by sorowe and sorowe by Joye and hit happeth
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to moche Joye and lese her membris and become half kene/
men in the sodayn Joye, and ioye is a replecion of thyng
that is delectable sprad a brode in alle the membris wyth
right grette gladnes, and al men entende and desyre to
haue the sayd right grette Joye naturelly / but they knowe
not what may ensue & come therof and this Joye cometh

other While of vertue of conscience / And the Wise man is
not Wyth out this ioye and this Joye is neuer interrupt
ne in default at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and
fortune may not take a Way that nature geueth . a martial
sayth that Joyes forgetpues abyde not long . but she a Way
anone . and Valerian rehercith that he that hath force and
strength . reasonableness hath hit of a way matier of coplection
and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as moche
power to exparte the soule fro the body . as hath the thonder
Wherof hit happend that there was a Woman named Lyna
Whiche had her husband in the Warre in the shippes of
the romayns . and she supposid . verayly that he was ded
but hit happend that he came agayn home . and as he en
trid in to his gate / his Wyf mette Wyth hym so dayntely not
warned of his comyng . Whiche was so gladd and ioyous
that in embracynge hym she fel down ded . Also of ano
ther Woman to Whom was reported by a fals messenger
that her sone was ded . Whiche went hom so ruthfully to
her howe . and after ward when her sone came to her . as sone
as she sawe hym she was so esmoued Wyth Joye that she
died tofore hym . but this is not so greet meruayle of
Women as is of the men . For the Women ben lykened
vnto softe Waye or softe ayer . and therefore she is callyd
Mullier Whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis aer
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Inpressyon than the nature of men that be rude & stronge
Valerie rehercith that a kynge ofrome named instaulo
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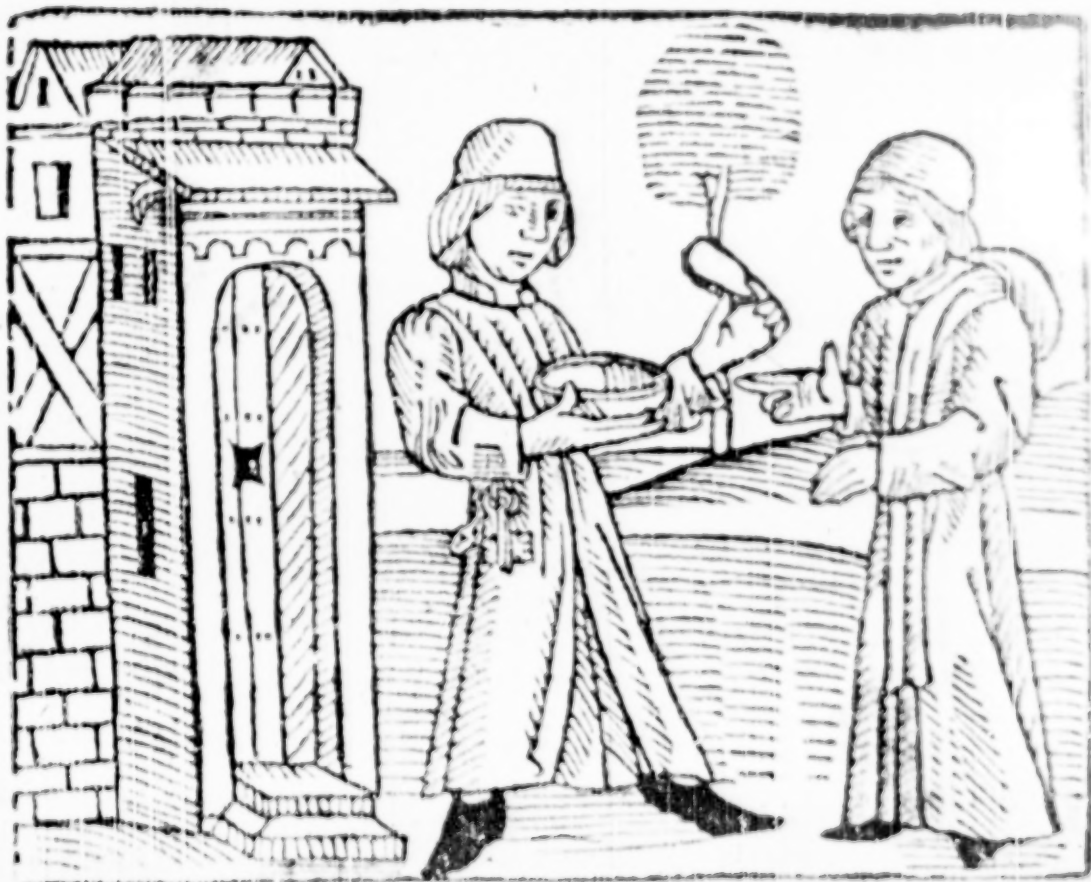
and as he sacrificed his goddes he receyved letters from
the senate of Rome in which were conteyned diverse
supplications / the which when he understood he was so
glad and so enterprised with Joye . that he knewe not
what to do / and than a grete fume or smoke issued out of
the fire in which he dyspayred and fyl in to the fire / where
he was anon ded And also it is sayd that phylomenus
laughed so sore & distemperately that he dyed al laughing
And we reade that pyrras the phisician founde remedye for
thys Joye / For when he had long dwelled out of hys
countrey for to leane kunnyng and wysdom and shold
retorne vnto his parentis and frendes when he approched
nigh them he sent a messenger tofore for to telle to them
his comyng and comaunded hym to saye that he cam / for
they had not longe tofore seyn hym / and that they shold
attempte them in that Joye or they shold see hym / And
also we reade that titus the sone of Vaspasian when he had
conquered Iherusalem and abode in the countreys by he herd
that his fader Vaspasian was chosen by al the senate for to
gouerne the empyre of rome / wherefore he had so right grete
ioye that so delyly he lost the strength of al his membres
and became al Inpotent . And when Iosephus that made
the hystorie of the romayns agest the Iewes . which was
a right wyse phisician sawe and knewe the cause of this se
lience of the sayd titus . he enquired of his folke yf he had
in hate any man greatly so moche that he myght not here
speke of hym ne wel se hym . and one of the seruantes
of tytus sayd that he had one persone in hate so moche that
ther was no man in his court so hardy that durst name

hym in his presence. & than Josephus assigned a day Whā
 this man shold come & ordeyned a table to be sette in the
 sight of titus & did hit to be replenysshed plentifully With al
 dayntees & ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suche
 wise that no man shold hurt hym by the comaūdement of
 titus & ordeyned boutelers. cookes / & other officers for to ser
 ue hym worshipfully like an emperour. and Whā al this
 Was redy. Josephus brought in this man that titus hated
 & sette hym at the table tofore his eyen and Was seruyd of
 yong men With grete reuerence right curteisly. & Whā ti
 tus beheld his enemye sette tofore hym With so grete ho
 noure. he began to chausse hym self by grete felonye / and
 comaūded his men that this man shold be slayn & Whā he
 sawe / that none wold obeye hym / but that they al they ser
 uyd hym reuerently / he wāve so ardaunt and embraced With
 so grete pye . that he that had lost al the force & strengthe
 of his body and Was al Impotent in alle his members.
 recouerd the helth agayn and strengthe of his members
 by the herbe that entred in to the waynes and synelbes
 And Josephus dyd so moche that he Was recouerd
 and heale / And that he helde that man no more for his
 enemye / But helde hym for a veray trewe frende . And
 after Ward maad hym his loyal felowe & companyoun.
 And the espycers and apothecaries ought to make trewly
 suche thynges as is comaūded to them by the physicians
 & they ought to accomplishe their billes & charge curiously
 With grete diligence. that for none other cause they shold
 be occupied but in making medecynes or confectiōs trewly
 & that they ought vpon payl of their soules not to forgette

by negligēce ne recklesnes to geue one medecyne for an
other in such wise that they be not sleares of men. And
that they do put no false thynges in her spices for to en
pyre or encrecyng the weyght for yf they so do they may
better be callyd cheyres than espycers or apothecaries. And
they that ben accustomed to make opnementis they ought
to make it properly of trewe stuffe and of good odoure
after the receptes of the auncient doctours. and after the
forme that the phisiciens and surgiens deuyse into them
also they ought to be ware that for none auayle ne gyfte
that they ought haue / that they put in their medecyne no
thyng venemous ne doyng hurte or scathe to any persone
of Whom they haue no good ne veray knowleche to thende
that they to Whom the medecynes shold be geuen to ne not
to them hurt ne damage / ne in destructione of their neygh
bours / also that they that haue mynystred the thynges
to them. ben not taken for parteners of the blame and
of the synne of them. The surgens ought also to be
bonayr / ampyable / and to haue pyte of theyr patients and
also they ought not be hasty to launce & cutte apostumes &
soores. ne open the heeres. ne to arrache bones broken.
but yf the cause be apparant. For they myght elles lose
theyr good renomee. And myght better be callyd cou
chers thenne helars or guarissours of Woundes and so
res. And also hit seketh that alle this maner of pe
ple a fore sayd that haue the charge for to make hoole
and guarisshe alle maner of maladye and Infirmytees
that they first haue the cure of them self. and they ought
to purge them self from alle apostumes and alle byces

in such wyse that they be net and honeste & enformed in
 al good manere . and that they shewe him howe and pure &
 redy for to seke other . and how sayth beatus de consolaci
 one in his first booke that the sterres that ben hid under
 the cloudes may geue no light . And therfore if any man
 wyl beholde clerely the verite , late hym withdrawe hym
 fro the obscurite and darkness of the cloudes of ygnorance
 for whan the engyne of a man sheweth in ioye or in sorow
 the pence or thought is enuoluped in obscurite and under
 the cloudes .

The sixte chapitre of the thyrd booke treteth of the sixte
 paven which is lykengyd to tawmre hostelers and by
 tayllers capitulo



The first p[er]son Which stondest tofore the alphy[n]
t on the lyfte syde is made in this forme / For hit is
a man that hath the right hand stretchyd out as for to
calle men / and holdeth in his left hand a boof of bredd
and a cuppe of Wyne . and on his girdel hangyng a bondel
of keyes / and this resemblith the tawerners / h[ost]lers / &
sellars of v[er]taye . and thys ought properly to be sette to
fore the alphy[n] as tofore a Juge / For there fourdeth oft
tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and stryf . Whiche
shoueth to be determyned & trayted by the alphy[n] . Which
is Juge of the kyng . and hit apperteyneth to them for to
seke and enquire for good Wyne and good v[er]taye for to
grue and selle to the byars . and to them that they bye /
wille . And hit apperteyneth to them wel to kepe theyr
herberres and Junes / And alle tho thynges that they
bryng in to theyr lodgyng . and for to putte hit in sear
re and sauf Warde and keepyng . And the first of them
is signefyed by the lyfte hand in Whiche he bereth bredd
and Wyne . And the second is signefyed by the right
hand Which is stretchyd out to calle men / and the thyrd
is representyd by the keyes hangyng on the girdel . and
thys maner of peple ought to eschewe the synne of glo
tonye / For moche peple come in to theyr howses for to
drynke and for to ete for Whiche cause they ought reso
nably to wille them self and to refrayne them from to
moche mete and drynke . to thende that they myght the
more honestly relquere thynges needful into the peple that
come unto them & no thyng by outrage that myght nuge
the body . For hit happeth oft tymes that there cometh of

glotony. tencions / stryfe / riottes. wronges & molestacions
by Whiche men lese otherwhyle their handes, theyr eyes and
other of theyr membris / and some tyme ben slayn or hurted
vnto the deeth as it is Writen in Sctas patum. as on a
tyme an hermyte Went for to visite his gossib. & the
deyl apperid to hym on the way in likenes of another her
myte for to tempte hym. & said thou hast lest thy hermyt
tage / & goest to visite thy gossib / the behoueth by force to
do one of the iii thynges that I shal say to the / thou shalt
chese Whether thou wolt be dronke. or elles haue to do flesh
lye With thy gossyb. or elles thou shalt see thy husbond
Whiche is thy gossib also. & the hermyte that thought for
to chese the leste euyl chese for to be dronke. and when he
cam vnto them he drank so much that he was very dronke
and when he was dronke and eschauffyd With the wyne. he
wold haue a doo With his gossyb / & his husbond dysceyued
hym. & than the hermyte slewe hym. & after that hure by
his gossyb & knewe her fleshly. & thus by this synne of
drunkenhys he accomplisshed the two other synnes. By
Whiche thyng ye may vnderstonde and knowe that when
the deyl wyl take one of the castellys of Ihesu Cryst.
that is to Wete the body of a man or of a woman he doth
as a prynce that setteth a siege before a castel that he
wold wyne. Whiche entendeth to wyne the gate. For
he knoweth wel when he hath wonne the gate. he may
sone doo his wyllk wyth the castel / And in lyke wyse
doth the deyl wyth euery man and woman. For when
he hath wonne the gate that is to Wete the gate of the
mouth by glotony or by any other synne.

he may wth the offycers of the body al his Wyllie as ye
haue herd tofore, & thaxfore ought euery man ete & drynke
sobrly in fuche Wyse as he may lyue & not lyue to ete gło
tonslly & for to drynke dronke/ye se comunely that a grette
hole is suffisid With right a litil pastur. & that one Wode
suffiseth to many olaphaunters. & hit beloueth a man to be
fedde by the erthe or by the see / neuertheles it is no grette
thyng to feede the hely, no thyng so grette as is the desyre
of many metes Wherof Cypertilian saith/that hit happeth
ofte tymes in grette festes and dyners, that We be fylled
With the sight of the noble and lichorous metis & When We
Wold ete We ben faciat and fylled / & thaxfore it is sayd in
prouerbe, hit is better to fille the helye than the eye. & lu/
can saith that glotony is the meder of al vices & especial
of lecherie / & also is destroyar of al goodes & may not haue
suffysaunce of lytil thyng. A coueteus longer What se/
kest thou mete and vtyllis on the kinde and in the see.
& thy ioye is no thyng els but to haue playntuous dys/
shes & Wel filled at thy table lerne ho^d men may demene
theyr lyf With litil thyng. and cathon saith in no Wyse
eueye to glotonye Whiche is frende to lecherie / & the holy
doctour saynt augustyn saith. the Wyn eschauffith the hely
that fallith anone to lecherie / the hely and the membris
ben neighbours to lecherie. & thus the vice of glotonye pro
uoketh lecherie. Wherof cometh forgebines of his mynde
and destitucion of alle quyet and sharpe reason. And is
cause of distemperaunce of his Wyllie. What synne is
folwer than this synne & more styngyng ne more döma &
georis, for this synne hath taken al the vertu of man

his proweſſe languyſſeth. his vertue is turned to diffame
 the ſtrength of body and of corage is turned by the, and
 the:fore ſaith baſily le graunt, late he take hee ſhall he
 ſerue the belly and the throte by glotonye like as he were
 combe beſtyes, and he ſtudy for to be lyke vnto felues of
 the ſee, to whom nature hath given to be al theye enclined
 to ward the water: & that to loke for to ſerue their beſtes
 ſerof ſayth / Boecius de conſolatione in his fourth booke
 that a man that lyueth and woth not the condicions of a
 man may neuer be in good condicion, than muſt hee nee
 des be that he be transported in nature of a beſte: or of a fel
 luc of the ſee, how wel that right grete man and wonder
 ful of meruayllous ſciences and noble counceyl in theſe
 dayes in the world be noriſſhed in this glotonye of wyne
 and meates / & oſer tymes ben ouer ſeen how ſuppoſe ye is
 hit not right a prailous thyng that a lord or gouernour
 of the puple & comyn wele how wel that he be wyſe / yf he
 eſchauffe hym ſone ſo that the wyne or other drynke ſur
 priſe hym & ouercome his brayn / his wiſedom is loſt for
 as catton ſayth Ite enpſſeth the corage in ſuche as he
 may not kepe ſerice and trowth, & anon as he is chauffid
 lecherie is meuyd in hym in ſuche wyſe that the lecherie
 makyth hym to meddle in dyuerſe vylaynes & doo for than
 his wyſedom is a ſleep and goon. & the:fore ſaith ouer
 in his booke de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dy
 uerſe wyues they apparayle and enforce the corages to le
 cherye. And Chobye wytnesſeth in his booke that luxurye
 deſtroyeth the body and mynnyſſeth rychesſes, ſhe loſeth
 the ſolwe ſhe febleth the ſtrength ſhe blyndeth the ſyght

and maketh the 'Doye' hore and? mabe? ha a right cruel &
foule synne of drunkenshyp by the praiseworthy Virgynytie
Whiche is iustice of aungethis possedynge al goodnes and
seurte of al Joyes pardurable. Noe Was one tyme so
chauffyd wyth Wyn that he discoverd and? shewid to hye
sones his prauy membris in such wyse as one of his so-
nes mocked hym / and? that other coued hem *and loth
Whiche Was a man right chaste. Was so assotid by moche
drynkynge of Wyn. that on a mounteyn he kinde his
toughers carnally and had to doo wyth them as they ha-
ben his proper wyys and Crete wrytith that Boer
Whiche Was flour of the men, tresour of richesses / singular
house of sapyence / myrrour of the World, odour of good
renomes and glorie of his subgettis. lost al thise thynges
by his luxurie. We haue seen that dyuerce that Were Joy-
ned by grete amytie to gedre Whiles they Were sobre. that
that one wold put his body in parell of wch for that other
and When they Were eschauffid With Wyn and dronke / they
haue ronne eche vpon other for to slee hem / and some haue
ben that haue slayn so his frande / Herodes Antipas had
not wouyn saynt John baptist to ben his wif ne had the
dynner ben ful of glotony and dronkshyp. balthazar kyng
of babilone had not been chased out of his kyngdom ne
be slayn yf he had be sobre emonge hys peple Whom tytus
and carus fond? dronken and? slewe hym. The hostellers
ought to be wel bespoken and curtos of wordes to them
that they receyue in to thair lodgynge. For fayr speche &
Joyous chiere and? debonair cause men to geue the hoste-
ler a good? name. And? therefore hit is sayd in a comyn

prouerbe curtopse langage & wel sayenyn is moche worth
and coste lytyl / And in another place it is sayd that
curtosye pisseth beaulte * also for as moche as many pa
rells, and aduentures may happen on the Wayes & passa
ges to him that ben hyswylde Byth in theyr Iunes.
therfore they ought to accompanye them when they departe
and enseigne them the Wayes and telle to them the pa
rilles / to thende that they may surely goo theyr wyage &
Journey. And also they ought to kepe theyr lodges
theyr goodes. & the good fame & renouice of theyr Iunes
We rede that Loth when he had receyved the aungelles
in to his hows right rebouys. Which he had suspected had
ben mortal men and straungers to thende that they shold
escape the disordynate and vnnaturall synne of lechery
of the seduxers. by the vertu of good fayth. he sette a part
the naturall loue of a fader. & proferd to them his daugh
ters. Which were vyrgynes. to thende that they shold kepe
them and defende them fro that villayn & horrible synne
And knowe ye for certeyn that al tho thynges that ben
taken & deliuerd to kepe to the hoste or hostesse they ought
to be sauf and yeluen ageyn with out appaynyng for the
hoste ought to knowe who that entrich in to his hows for
to be hyswylde tith hit for his habitacon for the tyme
he hym self. and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth with
hym ben comysed of right in the Warde and keepyn of
the hoste or hosteler / and ought to be as sauf as they were
put in his owne propre hows. and also suche hostes ought
to holde seruauntes in theyr hows which shold be trewe &
with out auarice in such wyse that they conceyue not to

haue the goodes of theyr ghestes / and that they take not
away the prouender fro theyr horses When hit is gyuen to
them / that by thoccasion therof thei horses perissh not ne
faylle theyr maister When they haue need / and myght falle
in the handes of theyr enemyes . For than shold the ser/
uauntes be cause of that euyl . Wherfore their maysters
shold see to, for With out doute this thyng is Worse than
theft / hit happend on a tyme in the parties of Lombardy
in the cyte of Jene that a noble man Was lodgyd in an
hostelrye Wyth moche companye . and When they had gyuen
prouendour to theyr horses . in the first oure of the nyght
the seruaunt of the hostes came secretly tofore the horses
for to stele away theyr prouender / and When he came to the
lordes hors the hors caught With his teth his arme and
held hit fast that he myght not scape / and When the thief
saw that he Was so strongly holden / he began to crye for
the grette payn that he suffrid and felte / in suche Wyse that
the noble mannyes meyne cam Wyth the hoste / But in no
maner nor for ought they coude do . they coude not take
the thief out of the horses mouth vnto the tyme that the
neyghbours Which Were noyed Wyth the noyse came and
saw hit / and the thief Was knowen and taken & brought
tofore the Iuge / and confessyd the fea and by sentence
diffynctyf Was hanged and lost his lyf . and in the same
Wyse Was another that dyd so / and the hors smote hym in
the dysage / that the prynte of the hors shoo & nayles alwe
euer in his dysage / another case right cruel & vilaynous
fyl at tholouse hit happend a yong man and his fader
Went a pylgrymage to Saynt James in yalies and Were


lodged in an hostelrye of an euyl host and ful of right
grette couetyse in so moche that he desired and coueytyn the
goodes of the two pylgrymes . and here vpon aduysed
hym and put a coupe of siluer secretly in the male that
the yonge man bare . and when they departed out of there
lodgynge / he folowed after hym and sayd tofore the people
of the court that they had stolen and borne away his awys
and the yonge man excused hym self and his fader . and
sayd they were Innocent of that case / And thenne they
serched hym and the coupe was founden in the male of the
yonge man , and forthwyth he was dampned to death and
hanged as a theef . and thus fea don . al the goodes that
longed to the pylgrym were deliuered to the hoste as con-
fisked / And than the fader went forth for to do his pil-
grymage . and when he came ageyn he must needs come
a passe by the place where his sone hynge on the gyllet . and
as he came he complayned to god and to saynt James
how they myght suffre this aduventure to come vnto his
sone . arone his sone that hynge spake to his fader . and said
how that saynt James had kept hym with out harme
and had his fader goo to the Iuge and shewe to hym the
myracle and how he was Innocent of that fait / and when
this thyng was knowen the sone of the pylgrym was ta-
ken down fro the gyllet . and the cause was brought tofore
the Iuge / and the host was accused of the trayson . and
he confessyd his trespass / and sayd he dyd hit for couet-
yse to haue his good . and than the Iuge dampned hym
for to be hanged on the same gyllet where as the yonge
pylgrym was hanged . And that I haue sayd of the

seruauntes keepynge men / the same I say of the Women as
chaunberers and tapsters / for semblaible was fyl in spayn
at saynt donne of a chaunberer . that put a cuppe in lythe
Wyse in the scrippe of a pylgryme ; by cause he wolde not
haue a do wyth her in the synne of lecherye / wherefore he was
hangede and his fader and moder that were there wyth
hym went and vnder her pylgremage and when they came
agayn they founde her sone luyng / and than they went &
tolde the Iuge which Iuge sayd that he wolde not beleue
hit til a cok and an hanne which rested on the fyre were
a lyue and the cok crowde and anon they began to speke
a lyue and the cok crowde and began to crowde & to pasture
and when the iuge sawe this myracle he went & toke woun
the sone and made the chaunberer to be taken and to be
hangede . wherefore I say that the hostes ought to holde no
tapsters ne chaunberers / but yf they were good . meure &
honeste / For many harmes may be falle and come by the
disordenate wyse of seruauntes .



The seventh chapitre of the thyrd tractate treateth of the
 parte of tollnes, customes & tolle gardens capitulo vii



 The gardes andy keepes of cittees ben signefyed by
 the seventh patryn which stondeth in the left side to
 fore the knyght and is formed in the semblaunce of a
 man holdynge in his left hand grete keyes and in his
 right hand a pottle and an elle for to mesure wyth; ought
 to haue on his gurdal a purse open, and by the keyes ben
 signefied the keepes of the cittees and tollnes and comyn
 offyces and by the pottle and elle ben signefyed them that
 haue the charge to weye and mete and mesure trovly,
 and by the purse ben signefyed them that receyue the

costumes · tolls · /sa · wages · prayers · and duties of the cy-
tees and tollnes /and these peple shen sette by right before
the knyght and hit sheweth that the gardes & officers
of the tollnes be taught and ensigned by the knyghtes
and that they knowe and enquire how the cities & tollnes
ben gouerned which appertyneth to be kept and defended
by the knyghtes · and first hit appertyneth that the he-
ads of the cyte be diligent · & sp · cleve · sayen · and louers
of the comyn prouffyt and wele · as wel in the tyme of
pess as in the tyme of warre they ought alwey to go in
the cyte and enquire of al thynges and ought write to
the gouernours of the cyte such thyng as they fynde and
knowe · and such thyng as appertyneth and to the sherte
of the same · and to denounce and telle the defaultes and
partys that there be · and yf hit be in tyme of warre they
ought not to open the gates by nyght to no man · And
such men as ben put in this offyce ought to be of vno-
me and fame / trewe / and of good conscience / in such ma-
ner that they loue them of the cyte or tollne · And that
they put to no man ony blame or bylanye With out cause
by enuye couetyse ne by hate / but they ought to be sory and
feyr When they see that ony man shold be compleyned on
for ony cause / For hit happeth ofte tymes that dyuerse
officers accuse the good peple fraudulently / to thens that
they myght haue a thankis and ben praysed and to abyde
stille in theyr offyces · and trewly hit is a grete and hye
maner of malice to be in wyll to doo euyl and byssame
other wyth out cause to grete glorie to hym self / also the
heraues and officers of cytees ought to be such that they

suffre no wronges no vylonies tofore the Judges and
iudgements of ciuies wpythout cause to be don to them that
ben Innocentes but they ought to haue theyr eyes and re-
garde into hym / that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes
of al men / and they ought to drede and doute hym. With-
out Whose grace theyr Watche and keeping is nought .
that promyseth to them that doute hym shal be wroun-
d and happy and by hym ben al thynges accomplisshed in
good . hit is founden in the histories of Rome that when
pyrrour ffredrick the second dyd doo make a gate of marble
of maruayllous Werk and enteyle in the cite of capuane
vpon the Water that renneth about the same / And vpon
this place he made an ymage lyke hym self sitting in his
mageste and the Judges which were sette . one on the
right side and that other on the left side . and vpon the
seale about the hede of the Iuge on the right side was wryton
al they entre feurely that Wyl lyue purely . and vpon the
seale of the Iuge on the left side was wryton / the vntres
the man ought to doute / to doo thyng that he be put to
pyrson fore . and on the seale about the empytour was
wryton . I make them lyue in mysery that I see lyue dys-
mefurably . and therefore hit apperteyneth to a Iuge to
shewe to the peple for to drede and doute to do euyl . and
hyt apperteyneth to the gardes and officers to doute the
Judges and to doo trewly theyr seruyces and offices .
hit apperteyneth to a prynce to menace the traytours and
the malefactours of right greuous paynes . and herof we
fynde in the auncient histories of cecille that the kynge
dreynt had a broder whom he louyd fore wel . But al they

[The text in this block is extremely faded and illegible.]

his hand to the table he had no more regarde vnto his
seruautes / he sayd to hym Why ete ye not - ar ye not bless-
fid / say ye ye fele ony thyng other wyse than blessed and
wel . and he answered for as moche as I see thys sharpe
wyse hangynge so subtilly & perillously ouer myn heade I
fele wel that I am not blessed / for I drede that hit shold
falle on my heade & thenne dyscouered the kyng vnto hym
al wherfore he was alwey so trewe cheryd & tryste . For
wher he was he thought alwey on the wyse of the secreta-
re gauntee of god . Whych he behelde alwey in his face .
Wherfore he had alwey in hym self grete drede , and ther-
fore he worshyppyd gladly the poure peple with glady by-
sage and goody consaience . And by this sheweth the kyng
wel . that what man that is alwey in drede is not alwey
mery or blessed / And hewys sayth quyntilian that thys
drede furmounteth alle othe: malurtes and euylles . for
it is malurte of drede nyght and day . And it is verite
that to hym that is doubtyd of moche peple . so muste he
doubte moche / And that lorde is lasse thenne his serua-
tes that dredyth his seruautes and truly hit is a right
fure thyng to drede no thyng but god & somtyme right for-
dy man ben cōstrayned to lye in drede drede causeth a man
to be fely to kepe th: thynges that he cōmyted to hym that
they passhe not , but to be to moche hardy & to moche feard-
ful . bothe thes ben vices . the comyn officers ought to be
wyse & wel aduysed in suche wise that they take not of the
peple ne requyre no more thā they ought to haue by reson
ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byars no more
thā the right custome . for they bere the name of a prynces

And therefore ought they to shewe them comune to all
men and for as much as the byars and sellars haue some
tyme moche language . they ought to haue wyth them these
vertues . that is to witte patience . and good courage wyth
honeste / for they that be dysprouis to the comune . then
other while had in bylaines despite . therefore he saith that
thou haue no despyte vnto the poore mendycants . yf thou
wylt come and attayne to thynges souerayn / for the Iniu
rye that is don wyth out cause / turneth to diffame hym
that doth hit . a Jogheler on a tyme helpe soocrates & sayd
to hym thou hast the eyen of corrupour of children and
art as a traytor . and when his dysciples heere hym . they
wold auenged theyr maister . but he reprovde hym by such
sentence sayeng / suffre my felawes . for I am he and
suche one as he sayth . by the sight of my dysface . But I
refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thyng . this same so
crates hym self was chidde & right foul spoken to of his
wyf . & she imposid to hym many grete Injuries wyth out
nomber . and she was in a place aboue ouer his heed . and
when she had brabbed y enough she made hir water & poure
hit on his heed . and he answered to her no thyng agayn
sauf when he had dreyed and wypped his heed . he said he kne
we wel that after suche wynde and thownde shold come
wynde and water . And the philosophers blamed hym
that he coude not gouerne like women / that was his wyf
and his chaumberer . and shewed hym that ene cokke go
uerne wel x v hennes . he answered to them that he was so
blew & accustomed with theyr chideng that the chidengis
of them ne of straungers dyd hym no greif ne harme /

gyue thou place to hym that brabbleth or chideth. And in
suffryng hym thou shalt be his vaynequysshour: and cathon
saith When thou lyuest rightfully / reche the not of the
wordes of euyl pple: and therefore hit is sayd in a comyn
prouerbe. he that wel doth rechecheth not who seeth hit. and
hit is not in our power to lette men to speke. and prosper
sayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes / ne to euyl
men tencions sirpues & blames. & pacience is a right no-
ble vertu. as a noble versifier saith, that pacience is a right
noble maner to vaynequyssh. for he that suffreth ouer-
meth / and yf thou wylt vaynequyssh and ouercome. letme
to suffre. the peagers ner they that kepe passages ought
not to take other wage ne passage money but such as the
prynce or the laide haue establisshed: so that they be not
more robours of money than receyuours of wage and
passage. And hit aperteyneth to them to goo out of the
perelous weyes and doubteuous for to kepe there offyce
and they ought to requyre theys passage of them that
owbe to paye hit wyth out noyeng and contencion. and
they ought not to loue the comyn pryue. Jye so moche. that
they falle in the hurtynge of theye conscience. For that
shold be a maner of robberye. and serof saith ysaye. Woe
to the that robbest. for thou thy self shalt be robbed. The
gardes or porters of the gates of citees and of the comyn
good ought to be good and honeste and al trowth ought
to be in them: & they ought not to take ne withdraue the
goodes of the comyn that they haue in keepynge more than
aperteyneth to them for their pencion or fee: so that they
thai ben made tresorers & keepers ben not named theys /

For: Who that taketh more than his he shal neuer thryue
With al ne: shal not enioye hit longe . for of euyl gotten
good the thirde feyre shal neuer reioyse / & thys suffyseth .

This eyght chappytre of the thirde booke treteth of ribaul'
des . players of dyse & of messagers and curours as viij



The ribauldes players at dyse & the messagers & cur
ours ought to be sette tofore the wolk. for hit appre
tyneth to the wolk Which is Vicayr of the kynge to haue
men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyre & es
pye the places & cities that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And this paim that representeth this peple ought to be
 formed in this maner. he must haue the forme of a man
 that hath long herys and black and holdeth in his ryght
 hand a litil money and in his left hand the dyse. & aboute
 hym a corde in steade of a gurdal. and ought to haue a booke
 ful of lettres. & by the first Which is money is vnder-
 stonde they that be folke large & wastours of theyr goodes
 and by the second Which is the dyse. ben represented the
 playes at dyse. ribauldes & butters. & by the thyrde Which
 is the booke ful of lettres. ben represented the messagers /
 curwurs. and bears of lettres. & ye shal vnderstande that
 the rooke Which is bycapre of the kyng. When he seeth to
 fore hym such peple as ben folke large and wastours. he is
 bounden to constitute and ordeygne vpon them tutors &
 curatours to see that they etc not ne waste in such maner
 their goodes ne their heritages. that pouerre conserayne
 hem not to stele for he that of custume hath had habundance
 of money & goeth & dispendeth hit folly & wasteth
 hit alwey When he cometh to pouerre & hath nought. he must
 nedes begge and aye his breed. or ellis he must be a theef.
 For such maner of peple. yf they haue ben deliciaous they
 wyll not laboure. for they haue not lernyd hit.
 And yf they be noble and comen of gentylmen. they
 be a shampyn to are and begge. And thus must they
 by force When they haue wasted theyr olde propre goodes
 yf they wyll lyue they must stele and robbe the goodes
 of othe. And ye shalle vnderstande that folke large
 is a ryght euyl vice. For hold wel that she doth good
 and prouffyt some to othe.

pat he doth harme andy dōmage to hym that so wasteth .
Cassiodore admonesteth the sole lardges to kepe their thynges
that by no necessity they falle in priuate / and that they
be not constrained to begge ne to stoll of other men . For
he sayth that hit is gretter subtilte to kepe wel his owne
goodes than to fynde straunge thynges . ⁊ that it is gret
ter vertue to kepe that is gotten than to geet andy wyne
more ⁊ claudyan saith in like wyse in his booke that hys
is a gretter thyng ⁊ better to kepe that is gotten . than to
geet more , and therfore hit is sayd that the pouer remaini
deth ⁊ beggith or he felith ⁊ also hit is said that he that
dispendeth more than he hath With out stroke he is syngeon
to the deth There was a noble man named John de gana
zath which was right rich and this man had but two
doughters Whom he married to two noble men , and whan he
hady married them , he loued so wel his sones in lawe theyr
husbondes that in space and successyon of tyme he departed
to them al his goodes temporel / and as longe as he gaf
to them they obeyed hym and were right dyligent to please
and serue hym / So hit befel that on a tyme that he hady
alle gyuon in so moche that he hady right nought / Than
hit happend that they to Whom he hady gyuon his goodes
which were wont to be amiable and obaysaunt to hym
as longe as he gaf , whan the tyme came that he was
poure andy lineke that he hady nought . they became vns
kynde / dysagrayable andy dysobaysaunt . Andy whan
the fader sawe that he was decayuyd by his desonayte
and loue of his doughters / He dysperdy andy coueytedy
fore to eschewe hys pouerte .

After laste he Went to a marchaunt that he knewe of olde
tyme . and requyred hym to lene to hym x thousand pound
for to paye andy rendre agayn Wyth in thre dayes / And
he lente hit hym . and When he had brought hit in to his
house / hit happend that hit Was a day of a solempne fester
on Whiche day he gaf to his daughters andy her husbandy
a right noble dynner / & after dynner he entred in to his chail
dre secretly Wyth them / andy drewe out of a coffre that he
had to make al newe shittynge Wyth thre lockes the mo
ney that the marchaunt had lente hym . and poured hit out
vpon a tapete that his daughters & their husbandes myght
see hit / and When he had shewyd hit vnto them he put hit
vp agayn & put hit in to the cheste saynyng that hit had
beon al his . & When they Were departed he bare the money
home to the marchaunt that he had borrowd hit of . and the
next day after his daughters & their husbandes axyd of
hym how moche money Was in the cheste that Was locked
Wyth thre lockes . and than he farned & sayd that he had
tham xxv thousand pounde . Whiche he kept for to make
his testament and for to leue to his daughters & hem . yf
they wold lere hem as wel to hym afterward as they did
When they Were married . and than When they herd that
they Were right ioyous and glad / & they thought & con
cluded to serue hym honourably as wel in clothyng as in
mete andy drynke andy of alle othe thynges necessarye
to hym vnto his ende . And after thys When the ende of
hym began to approche . he calld his daughters and their
husbondes & sayd to hem in this manere ye shalle vnder
stonde that the money that is in the cheste shalle vnder

three lockes I Wyl leue to you / sayng I Wyl that ye geue
in my præsence & I dye Whiles I lyue to the frere pri-
chours an hondred pounde, and to the frere menours an
hondred pounde / and to the heremytes of saynt austyn fifty
pounde to thende that Whan I am buried and put in the
earthe ye may demaunde of them the keyes of the chest Where
my tresour is Inne / Which keyes they kepe / and I haue
put on eche keye a bylle and Writynge in Witnessegge of
the thynges aboue sayd / And also ye shal vnderstonde
that he dyd to be gyuen Whiles he lay in his uth bedde to
eche churche and recluse * and to poure pple a certeyn quan-
tite of money by the handes of his daughters husbondes
Which they dyd gladly in hope to haue shortly the money
that they supposid in the chest . and Whan hit came to the
last day that he dyed . he Was borne to churche and his eye
quye doon and Was buried solempnly . And the seuenth
day the seauyse Worshypfully accomplisshed . They went
for to demaunde the keyes of the religiouse men that they
had kept . Which Were deliuered to them . & than they went
and opened the coffre Where they supposid the money had
ben Inne . and there they found no thyng but a grete
clubbe . and on the handlyng Was Writen ' I John of ca-
nazath make this testament * that he be slayn Wyth this
clubbe . that leueth his owne prouysye . and gyueth hit to
other / as who sayth hit is no wysedom for a man to gyue
his good to his chylren and kepe none for hym self '
And ye shal vnderstonde that hit is a grete folye to dys-
pende and Waste his good in hope for to recouer hit of other
be hit of sone of daughter or right nygh synne / for a man

ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his o'ne goodes
tofore he see that he dispende other mennys 'and he ought
not to be holten for a good man that hath litil uncomod
and spendeth many thynges, and I trowe that such per-
fones wolde gladly make noueltees as for to nye and
griue feignories and meue warres and tencions agensst
them that halowen in riches and goodes and also make
extorcions clamours and tribulacions ayensst their lordes
to thende to waste the goodes of the peple. lyke as they
haue wasted theyres and suche a wastour of goodes may
neuer be good for the comyn prouffyt and ye shal vnder-
stonde that after these wastours of goodes we saye that
the players of dyse and they that vse boordelys ben worse
of al other. for Whan the lere of playenng at the dyse
the couetise of theyr stynnyng lecherie hath brought hem
to pouerte hit foloweth by force that they must be thieues
and robours / and also drunkeneshyp gloteny and all
maner of euyls folowe them and myschync / and they
folowe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble
men Whan they goon vnto the warre or battayles. And
they coueyte not so moche the victorie as they do the rob-
berie 'and they do moche harme as they goo. And they
brynge lityl gayn or bymyng. Wherof hit hapend on a
tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors about the contrey
and mette wyth an husardour or dyse player. Which sayd
to hym thou goodes man wylt thou playe at dyse with me
thyn hors ayensst my folle. to Whom saynt bernard answered
yf thou wylt oblyge thy folle to me ayensst my hors / I
wyl a lyght down and playe wyth the ' and yf thou haue

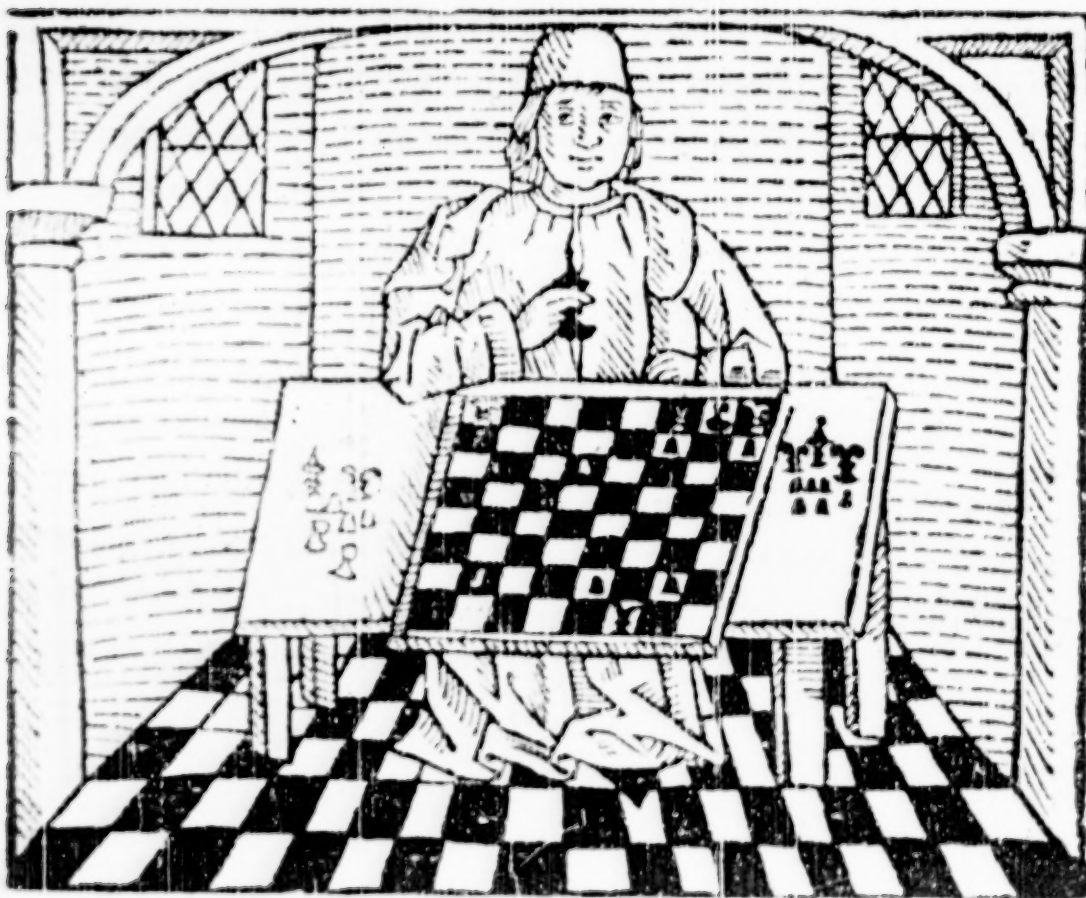
no pynter than I on thre dyse I promyse the thou shalt
haue myn hors, and thenne he Was glad . and anone cast
thre dyse / and on eche dyse Was a sise, Whiche made xviij
pyntes, and anon he took the hors by the byrdel / as he
that Was seur that he had wonne . and sayd that the
hors Was his . and than saynt bernard sayd abyde my
sone . for there be no pyntes on the dyse than xviij and
than he cast the dyse in such wyse that one of the iii dyse
cleft a fonde in the myddes / and on that one parte Was
viij . and on that other side an aas / and eche of that othar
Was a sise . And than saynt bernard sayd that he had
wonne his soble for as moche as he had cast on thre dyse
xviij pyntes . and than when this player sawe & percey-
uyd this myracle . he gaf his soble to saynt bernard and
became a monke and fynished his lyf in goody werkes.
The curours and bearers of letters ought hastely and spe-
dely do hir wyage that is comaunded hem . With out tar-
yeng . for theyr taryeng myght noye and greue them
that sende hem forth . or ellis them to Whom they be sent to
And to tene hem to right grete damage or bylonge . For
Whiche cause euery nolle man ought wel to take heed to
Whom he deliuer his letters and his maundementis . and
otherwhyle such peple ben Joghlers and drunkelle . and
goon out of their weye for to see abbayes and noble men
for to haue a vauntage . and hit happeth ofte tymes . that
when such messagers or curours ben enpesshid by ony ta-
rieng . that other curours bere letters contrarie to hys .
and come tofore hym / of Whiche thynges ofte tymes co-
meth many thynges discourable of losse of frendes of

castelles . and of lands and many other thynges as by
the feet of marchandyse . and other While hit happeneth
that a pryncer for the faulte of such messengers leseth to
haue victorie vpon his enemyes . and also there be some
that When they come in a cite Where they haue not ben to
fore . they ben more bly to visite the cyte and the noble
men that dwelle there . than they ben to do there voyage
Whiche thyng they ought not to do . but yf they had spe-
cial charge of them that sent hem forth so to do .

And also When they be sent forth of any lordes or mar-
chauntes they ought to be wel ware . that they charge hem
not With ouer moche mete on mornynge ne With to
moche Wyne on euenynge . Whereby her synelles : wares
myght be greuyd . that they must for faulte of good reuer-
tarye . but they ought to goe and come hastily for to re-
porte to their maysters answers as hit appertyneth . and
thise suffysen of the thynges aboue sayd .

The fourth tractate and the last of the progression and
draughtes of the forsayd plays of the chesse

The first chapitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse booke
in generall how it is made capitulo primo



I haue sayd aboue the thynges that apperteyne
vnto the formes of the chesse men and of their offi
ces. that is to witte as wel of noble men as of the comyn
peple / Than hit apperteyneth that we shold say shortly
how they yssue and goon out of the places where they be
sette. And first we ought to speke of the forme and of
the facion of the chequer after that hit representeth and

Was made after / for hit Was made after the forme of the
cyte of Babylone / in the Which this same playe Was fel-
den as hit is sayd afore . and ye shal vnderstande that ye
ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is Wher-
fore that lxiiij poyntes ben sette in the eschequer Whych
ben al square / The second is Wherfore the bordure about
is hygher than the squarenes of the poyntes . The thyrde
is Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles .
The fourth is Wherfore the nobles and the peple ben sette
in theyr propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the
eschequer voyde as fulle . and ye shal first vnderstande
Wherfore that there ben lxiiij poyntes in the eschequer / for
as the blessed saynt Iherome sayth . the cite of Babylone
Was right grette and Was maad al square . and in euery
quarter Was xviij myle by nombre and mesure / the Which
nombre four tymes tolde Was lxiiij myles . after the ma-
ner of Lombardye they be callyd myles . and in fraunce
liues . and in england they be callyd myles also . And for
to represente the mesure of this cyte / In Which this playe
or game Was founden . the philosopher that fonde hit first
ordayned a tablier conteynyng lxiiij poyntes square . the
Which ben compased Wyth in the bordure of the tabler /
there ben xxij on that one side and xxij on that other
side Which ben ordayned for the beaulte of the playe . and
for to shewe the maner and drawing of the chesse as hit
shal appere in the chapptres folowynge . And as to the
second . Wherfore the bordure of the eschequer is hygher
than the table Wyth in . hit is to be vnderstande that the
bordure about representeth the Wall of the cyte Whych is

right hygh / and therfore made the philosopher the tower
more hygh than the tabler. and as the blessed Saynt
Iherome sayth Upon the prophesie of ysaie / that is to wete
Upon a mounteyn of obscurete. Whiche wordes were sayd
of babylone Whiche standeth in calde / & no thyng of that
babylone that standeth in egypt. for it is so that babilone
Whiche standeth in calde Was sette in a right grete playn
And had so hygh Waller that by the height of them Was
continuel darkness enuyronned and obscurete. that none
erthly man myght beholde and see the ende of the highnes
of the Waller. and therfore ysaie callid hit the montaigne
obscure. And saynt Iherome saith that the mesure of the
height of this Waller Was thre thousand paces. Whiche ex
tendeth vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes. hit is
to wete that lombard myle and englyssh myles ben of
one lengthe / and in one of the corners of thys cite Was
made a tour tetrangle as a shelde. Wherof the height exten
ded vnto the lengthe of vii thousand paces Which is seven
myle englyssh and thys tour Was called the tour of babil
the Waller about the toure made a Woman Whos name
Was sempramis as sayth Virgilius. As to the thyrde
Wherfore the comyn peple benyctie tofore the nobles in the
felde of the batayl in one reuge. first for as moche as they
ben necessarie to al nobles / For the rook Whiche standeth
on the right side and is vncare of the kyng What may he
doe yf the labourer Were not sette tofore hym & labourer
to mynystre to hym suche temporal thynges as he necessa
rie for hym / And What may the knyght do yf he be had
tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armour. saddles

arres and spere & such thynges as appertyneth to hym.
And what is a knyght worth wouthout hors and armes /
certainly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
peraventure and in what maner shold the nobles lve
yf no man made cloth and bought and sold marchandysse
And what shold kynges and quenes and the othe lordes
do yf they had no physicans ne surgyens. Then I say
that the peple ben the gloze of the crowne and susteyne
the lyf of the nobles. And tharfore thou that art a lord
or a noble man or knyght / despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they ben sette tofore the in the place.
The second cause is Why the peple ben sette tofore the no-
bles and haue the table beyde tofore them is be cause they
begynne the bataylle / they ought to take fede and entenda
to do theyr offyces and theyr craftes in such wyse that
they suffre the noble man to gouerne the cytees and to
counceyll & make ordinaunces of the peple & of the ba-
taylle. how shold a labourer a plow man or a crafty man
counceyl and make ordinaunce of such thynges as he
neuer lerned. and wote he knoweth the matre. Wote
What thyng the counceyl ought to be taken / Certes the
comyn peple ought not to entenda to none othe thing but
for to do their seruyce and the offyce which is couenable
vnto hem / and hit appertyneth not to hem to be of coun-
ceyls ne at the aduocacions ne to menace ne to thrate no
man. for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun-
ceyl is distroubled and where good counceyl fayleth.
there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayed and destroyed.
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cytees

ben blessed When they ben gouerned by Wyse men / or When
the gouernours studie in Wyse dom. and so hit aperteyneth
to the comyn to lerne to better the maters. and the maner
of procuracion tofore they be counceylours. / For hit hap
peth often tymes that he that makyth hym Wyser than he
vnderstandeth is made more fool than he is. and the in
car, e Wherefore that there ben in y tablier as many poyntes
Worde as ben fulle / hit is to Wete for that they What euer
they be that haue peple to gouerne / ought tenforce to haue
cites & castelles & possessyons for to sette his peple therein
and for to laboure and do their ocupacion. For for to haue
the name of a kyng Wythout a royaume is a name Worde.
and honour With out prouffyt / and al noblesse With out
good maners / and Wyth out suche thynges as noblesse
may be maynteyned, ought better be calld folye than no
blesse / and shameful puerce is the more greuous When
hit cometh by nature of an hygh and noble bryth or houe
For no man gladly Wyl repute a pouer man of the co
myn peple. but euery man hath in dyspyte a noble man
that is pouer, yf he haue not in hym good maners and
vertuous. by Whiche his puerce is forgotten. And truly
a royaume With out habundaunce of goodes by Whiche hit
may be gouerned and prospere. may better be calld a la
trocynye or a nest of theues than a royaume. Alas What
habundaunce Was somme tymes in the royaumes. & What
prosperite in Whiche Was Justyce. and euery man in his
offyce content. how stood the cytes that tyme in Worshipp
& renome. how Was renomed the noble royaume of england
alle the World vradde hit and spake Worshyp of hit. How

hit now standeth and in What habundaunce I re-
pore me to them that knowe hit . yf there be thys both in the
wynde or on the see . they knowe that labour in the wynde
and sayle on the see / I wote wel the same is good
therof / I praye god saue that noble wynde & sende good
trewe and polletique counceyllours to the gouernours of
the same and noblesse of lignage wth out puyssaunce
myght is but vayne and dyspyte . And hit is so as we
haue sayd before that the scheker which the philosopher
ordyned represented and figured the said cite of Baby-
lon and in like wyse may hit figure a wynde and sig-
nifye alle the world and yf men regarde and take heed
vnto the pyntes vnto the mydes of euery quadrant &
so to double euery quadrant to othe the myles of this citie
alwey doublynge vnto the nombre of leyn . The nombre
of the same shold surmounte all the world and not onely
the world but many worldes by the doublynge of myles .
Which doublynge so as afore is sayd shold surmounte all
thynges . & thus endeth the first chapytre of the iiii booke .

The second chappitre of the fourth tractate treateth of the draught of the kyng & how he meureth in the chequer en in



¶ We ought to knowe that in thys world the kynges
 W seynourie and regne eche in his royame / And
 in this play we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how
 the kyng meureth hym and pssueth out of his place / for
 ye shal vnderstonde that he is sette in the iij quadrante or
 point of the cheques, and when he is black, he standeth in
 the Whyt, and the knyght on his right side in Whyt / & the
 alphyne and the rook in black / and on the left side the iij
 bolan the places opposite / and the wafers may be such

For by cause that the knyghtes be in the glorie and the
croune of the kyng they ensue in semblable maner that
they do what they be sette semblable on the right side of the
kyng & on the left side of the quene & for as moche as the
rook on the right side is vicar of the kyng & accompani-
eth the quene in semblable siege that the alphon. doth whi-
che is Juge of the kyng / And in like wyse the left rook &
the left alphon accompanie the kyng in semblable siege .
In such wyse as they be sette about the kyng in both si-
des with the quene in maner of a croune that they may
securly kepe the royaume that relieth and shyneth in the
kyng & in the quene . in such wyse as they may confirme
& diffende hym in their sieges & in their places . and the
more hastely renne vpon his enemyes & for as moche as
the Juge the knyght and the vicar kepe & garnisse the
kyng on that one side / they that be sette on the other side
kepe the quene & thus kepe they al the strength & ferme-
te of the royaume . & semblably other while for to ordaine the
thynges that apperteyne to the counceyl & to the reformacion
of the royaume / for yf eche man shold entende to his owne
proper thynges . And that they assendyd not ne: toke
hede vnto the thynges that apperteyn to the kyng & to
the comyn . and to the royaume . the royaume shold anon
be decayed in parties . And thus myght the Juge
reigne . And the name of the dygnite shall shold
be loste . And truly for as moche as the kyng foloweth
the dygnite above alle othe: and the seignorie shall .
therefore hit apperteyneth not that he absence hym long .
ne wythdrawe hym fere by space of tyme from the maieste

siege of his wyame / for Whan he Wyl meue hym. he ought
not to passe at the first draught the nombre of in poyntes
e Whan he begynneth thus to meue from his Whyt poynt,
he hath the nature of the wokes of the right side e of the
left for to goo black or Whyt. e also he may goo vnto the
Whyt poynt Where the gardes of the cyte ben sette / e in this
poynt he hath the nature of a knyght. e thise tWo maners
of meuyng appertyneth otherwhile to the quene / e for as
moche as the kyng e the quene that he conioyned to gedre
by mariage ben one thyng as one fleshe e blood / thafore
may the kyng meue on the left side of his propre poynt al
so wel as he Were sette in the place of the quene Which is
black. e Whan he goeth right in maner of the wolk onely e
hit hapen that the aduersary be not couerd in any poynt in
the second ligne the kyng may not passe from his black
poynt vnto the thyrde ligne / e thus he fortifeth the nature
of the wolk on the right side and left side vnto the place of
the knyghtes. And for to goo right tofore in to the Whyt
poynt tofore the marchaunt and the kyng also fortifeth the
nature of the knyghtes Whan he goeth on the right side in
tWo maners. for he may put hym in the boorde space tofore
the phisician / e in the black space tofore the tawana. e on
the other side he goeth in to other tWo places in like wyse
that is tofore the smyth / and the notarye / e thus as in
goynge out first in to four poyntes he fortifeth the nature
of knyghtes. And also the kyng fortifeth the nature
of the alphyne at hys first yssue in to tWo places. and
he may goo on bothe sydes vnto the Whyte place boorde /
that one tofore the smyth on that one side / and that other

tofore the tauerne on that other side, al these issues hath
 the kyng out of his propre place of his owne vertu. Whan
 he begynneth to meue. but whan he is ones meuyd fro his
 propre place. he may not meue but in to one space or poynt
 and so from one to another / And than he sortifeth the na-
 ture of the comyn peple / And thus by good right he hath
 in hym self the nature of al. For al the vertue that is
 in the membres comyth of the hede. And al meuyng of
 the body. The begynnynge and lpf cometh from the herte
 And al the dygnyte that the subgittis haue by execution
 and continuel apparence of theyr meuyng and issue.
 the kyng deteyneth hit and is attributed to hym. the Vic-
 toire of the knyghtes. the prudence of the Judges. the
 auctorite of the vicarys or legates. the continence of the
 quene / the concord and vnyte of the people, so ben alle
 thise thynges ascribed vnto the honour & worship of the
 kyng in his issue. Whā he meuyth first / the in signe tofore
 the peple he neuer excedyth. for in the thirde nombre alle
 maner of states begynne to meue. For the trynary nom-
 bre conteyneth thre parties. Whiche make a perfect nom-
 bre. For a trynary nombre hath i in in. Whiche ioyned
 to gyder maketh vi / Which is the first partie nombre and
 signifieth in this place. vi persones named that consti-
 tute the perfeccion of a royaume. that is to wete the kyng the
 quene. Judges knyghtes vicarys or legates. & the comyn
 peple. & therefore the kyng ought to begynne in his first me-
 uing of in poyntes. that he shoulde perfeccion of lpf as wel
 in hym self as in other. after the kyng begynneth to meue
 he may lede with hym the quene / after y maner of his issue

For Why the quene foloweth vnto the angular places
after the maner of the alfabyn / and to a place Indirecte
in the maner of a rook in to the blacke poynt tofore the
phisiacion Term is signefied that the Women may not me-
ue nether make bolles of pylgremage ner of Viage With-
out the Wylle of theyr husbondes . For yf a Woman had
auowed any thyng . her husbond lyving / and agayn say-
en . she may not yelw ner accomplishe her bolle . yf the
husbond Wyl goo any Where / he may wel goo Wythout her
And yf so be that the husbond Wyl haue her Wyth hym she
is bounden to folowe hym . And by reason . for a man is
the head of a Woman . & not conuerso . For as to suche
thynges as longe to patrymonye . they be like / but the
man hath power ouer her body / and so hath not the Woman
ouer his / and therfore When the kynge beynneth to meue
the quene may folowe . and not alwey When she meuyth
it is no nede the kynge to meue . for Why four the first lig-
nes be Wyth in the lymytes and space of the royaume /
and vnto the thyrde poynt the kynge may meue at his
first meuyng out of his propre place . and When he passyth
the fourth ligne he goeth out of his royaume / And yf he
passe one poynt lete hym be war . For the persone of a
king is accounted more than a thousand of other . For
When he exposith hym vnto the perille of bataylle . hit is
necessary that he goo attemperatly and skily / for yf he be
taken or ded or ellys Includid and shet in . alle the
strengthes of al other faylle and al is fynisshed and lost
And therfore he hath nede to goo and meue Wylfully . and
also therfore he may not meue but one poynt after hym

first meynynge But Where that euer he goo forward or be-
ward or on that one side or on that other or ellis corner:
Wise + he may neuer approche his aduersarye the kynge nei-
rer than in the thyrde poynt / And therfore the knynges in
Bataylle ought neuer to approche one nygh that other And
also When the kynge hath goon so fere that al hys men
be lost / Than he is sole, and than he may not endure long
When he is brough: to that extremyte / and also he ought
to talke here that he stonde not so that a knyght or another
sayth ches rok. than the kynge loseth the rok / That
kynge is not Wel fortunat that lesith hym to Whom his
auctorite delegate aperteyneth Who may do the nedes of the
royame yf he be pryvyd taken or widd: that Was prynces
of al the royame, he shal bere a sacke on his heed that
is sette in a cite / And al they that Were therein ben ta-
ken in captuyte and sette vp.

The second chapitre of the fourth booke of the quene
 & how she assueth out of her place capitale

caro



Then the quene Which is accompanied vnto the
 Is kyng begynneth to meue from her proper place / she
 goeth in double manere / that is to wete as an alphyu
 When she is blacke / she may goo on the right side & come
 in to the poynt tofore the notarye / & on the left side in the
 blacke poynt and come tofore the gardes of the cete . and
 hit is to wete that she sortiseth in her self the nature in in
 maners first on the right side tofore the alphyu . secondly
 on the left side Where the knyght is . & thirdly Indirectly
 vnto the blacke poynt tofore the phisician . And the reason

Why / is for as moche as she hath in her self by grace the
auctorite that the wooken haue by compassiō . for she may
give and graunte many thynges to her subgettis graciously /
and thus also ought she to haue partye Wyfedom
as the alphys haue Whiche ben Judges . as hit is sayd
aboue in the chappiter of the quene . and she hath not the
nature of knyghtes . and hit is not sitting ne couenable
thyng for a Woman to goo to bataylle for the fragylite &
feblenes of her . and therefore holdeth she not the waye in
her draught as the knyghtes doon . & When she is mynd
ones out of her place she may not goo but for one wyte
to another . and yet couetly Whether hit be for Ward or for
Ward taking or to be taken . and here may be sayd Why
the quene goeth to the bataylle Wyth the kynge . certeynly
it is for the solace of hym . and ostencion of loue . And
also the peple desire to haue successyon of the kynge . and
therefore the tartaris haue their Wyues in to the felde Wyth
hem yet hit is not good that men haue theyr Wyues Wyth
hem / but that they abyde in the cytees or Wythin theyr
owne tenys . For When they ben out of theyr cytees &
cymptes they ben not sure but holde suspectes they shold
be shamefast and holde al men suspect . For dyna Jacobs
daughter as longe as she was in the howe of her brethern
she kept her vyrgynyte . but assone as she wente for to see
the straunge regions / anone she was corrupt & defyled
of the sone of siche . Seneca sayth that the Woman that
haue euyl dysages ben gladly not chaste but theyr corage
despyeth gladly the compaignie of men / and solinus sayth
that no bestes females desire to be touchyd of their males

When they haue conceyved / except Woman Which ought to
 be a beste reasonable . and in this case she lefith her myson /
 & fidiac Witnesstith the same . & therefore in the olde Lawe .
 the fathers had dyuerse wyues and ancellis to thende When
 one Was With childe . they myght take another . they ought
 to haue the visage enclyned for to escheue the sight of the
 men . that by the sight they be not meuyd With Inconty-
 nence & dyffame of other . and our sayth that there ben
 some that hold wel that they escheue the dea yet haue
 they grette ioye When they be prayed / & therefore ought the
 good Women fole the curiosities & places Where they myght
 falle in shame & noyse of the peple .

The fourth chappitre of the fourth booke of the issuing
 of the albyon capitulo

quarto



The manere and nature of the draught of the al-
t phyn is such that he that is black in his propre sie-
ge is sette on the right side of the Synge / and he that is
Whyt is sette on the left side / and ben callyd and named
black and Whyt but for no cause that they be so in sub-
stance of her propre colour: but for the colour of the pla-
ces in Whiche they ben sette / and al they be they black or
Whyt When they ben sette in theyr places the alphyn on
the right side goynge out of his place to the right for-
ward cometh tofore the labourer / and hit is reason that
the Judge ought to defende and keep the labourers and pos-
sessions Whiche ben in his Jurisdiction by al right and
lawe / And also he may goo on the left side to the voyde
place tofore the phisician / for like as the physicians haue
the charge to hyle the Infirmities of a man In like wise
haue the Judges charge to appease all strifes & contentions
and reduce vnto vnyte and to punyshe and correct cri-
mes criminalis. the left alphyn hath also two Barres for
his owne place one toward the right side vnto the black
space voyde tofore the marchaunt. For the marchauntes
need ofte tymes counceyl and ben in debate of questyons
Whiche must needs be determyned by the Judges / and that
other pssue is vnto the place tofore the ryualdes: that
is by cause that ofte tymes among them falle noyses
dyscensions thefe & manslaughter. Wherefore they ought
to be punysshed by the Judges: & ye shal vnderstande that
the alphyn goeth al theyr comynallyse for the thyrde point to
the thyrde point keeping al theyr owne siege for yf he
be black he goeth a they black and yf he be Whyt he goeth

alþey Whyte / the yssue or goynge cornerly or angularly
signefyeth cautelle or subtiltye / Which Iuges ought to
haue . The thre poyntes betoken thre thynges that the Ju
ge ought to attende a iuge ought to further rightful and
trewe causes . secondly he ought to geue trewe counceyl / &
thyrde he ought to geue a Iuge rightful sentences after
the allegaunces . & neuer to goo fro the right wysnes of
the lawe and it is to bete that the alþyn goeth in vi
draughtes al the tablia rounde about / and that he cometh
agayn in to his owne place and hold he hit that al reason
and good perfeccion shold be in a kyng / yet ought hit al
so spcially be in them that ben counceyllours of the kyng
and the quene and the kyng ought not to do any thyng
doubteuse til he haue aydd counceyl of his Iuges and of
the sages of the royaume / and therfore ought the Iuge to
be parfaytly wysse and sage as wel in science as in good
maners and that is signefyed when they meue from thre
poyntes in to thre for the sixte nombre by which they goo
al the chequer . and brynge hem agayn in to her propre
place in suche wyse that thende of her moeyng is conioyn
ned agayn to the begynnyng of the place fro whens they
departed & therfore hit is callyd a parfayt moeyng .



The fiftthe chapytre of the fourth tractate of the meynynge
of the knyghtes capitulo

quinto



After the issue of the alphys we shal turne to you
a the yssue and the meynynge of the knyghtes / and
we say that the knyght on the right side is Whyt . and on
the left side black . & the yssue & meynynge of hem to be is
in one maner whan so is that the knyght on the right side
is Whyt / the left knyght is black / the meynynge of hem is
suche . that the Whyt may goo in to the space of the alphys
as hys appereth of the knyght on the right side that
is Whyt . And hath thre yssues from his proper place .
one on his right side in the place tofore the hawberc .

and hit is wel wofon that when the labourer and husbond
man hath laboured the felde. the knyghtes ought to
kepe them to the entente that they haue vitayles for them
self & theyr horses. The second yssue is that he may meue
hym vnto the black space tofore the notarye or draper for
he is bounden to defende and kepe them that make hys
testementes & couatours necessarye vnto hys body. The
thyrde yssue is that he may goo on the left side in to the
place tofore the marchaunt which is sette tofore the kyng
the which is black. and the wofon is for as moche as he
ought and is bounden to defende the kyng as wel as his
owne persone. When he passyth the first draught. he may
goo four wyces / and when he is in the myddes of the ta-
ble: he may goo in to viij places sondry to which he may
venne, and in like wyse may the left knyght goo which
is black and goeth out of his place in to whyt / And in
that maner goeth the knyght fightynge by his myght. &
groweth and multiplieth in his poyntes / and ofte tymes
by them the felde is wonne or lost: a knyghtes vertue and
myght is not knowen but by his fightynge / And in his
fightynge he doeth moche harme for as moche as his myght
extendeth in to so many poyntes / they ben in many perilles
in theyr fightynge. and when they eschape they haue the ho-
nour of the game. & thus is hit of euery man the more
rayllant / & the more honoured / and he that maketh hym
self ofte tymes shyneth clearest.

The sixte chappitre of the fourth tractaie treateth of the
 yssue of the wokes and of hys progressyon capitulo 61



The moeyng yssue of the wokes which ben by
 the captes of the kyng is such that the righte wolk is
 black & the left wolk is whyt/and when the chesse ben setes
 as wel the nobles as the comyn peple first in theyr propre
 places the wokes by theyr propre vertu haue no waye to
 yssue but yf hit be maad to them by the nobles or comyn
 peple / For they ben enclosed in theyr propre sieges
 And the reson why is such that for as moche as they
 ben by captes lieutenantes or comyssyoners of the kyng
 theyr auctorite is of none effect tofore they yssue out

And that they haue begonne to enhaunce their offyce for
as longe as they be Wythin the palays of the kyng. so
longe may they not vse ne execute theyr comyssyon. but
anone as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite / and ye
shal vnderstande that theyr auctorite is grate / For they re-
presente the persons of the kyng / and therfore Where the
tablier is voyde they may renne alle the tablier. in lyke
lyke as they goon thugh the wyame / and they may goo
as Wel Wyt as black as W. on the right side ande lyke
as foreward and backward / and as fer may they renne as
they fynde the tablier voyde. Whiche hit be of his aduer-
saries as of his owne felawshyp. and When the rook is
in the myddel of the tablier he may goo Whiche way he wyl
in to four right lynes on euery syde. and it is to mete
that he may in no wyse goo awry wyse but alwey right
forth goyng and comyng as afore is sayd. Wherfore al
the subgettis of the kyng as Wel good as euyl ought to
knowe by theyr moeyng that the auctorite of the Wy-
cages and comyssioners ought to be kept trewe right wyse
and iuste / and ye shal vnderstande that they ben strange
and ferocious in bataylle. for the two rookes onely may
vaynquyshe a kyng theyr aduersarye and take hym. and
take from hym his lyf and his wyame / and this was
don When Citus kyng of perse and Darius kyng of
medes slewe balthazar and took his wyame from hym.
Whiche was newe to enylmoradach Under Whom this
game was founden.



The vii chapter of the fourth book of the yssue of
the comyn peple capitulo septimo

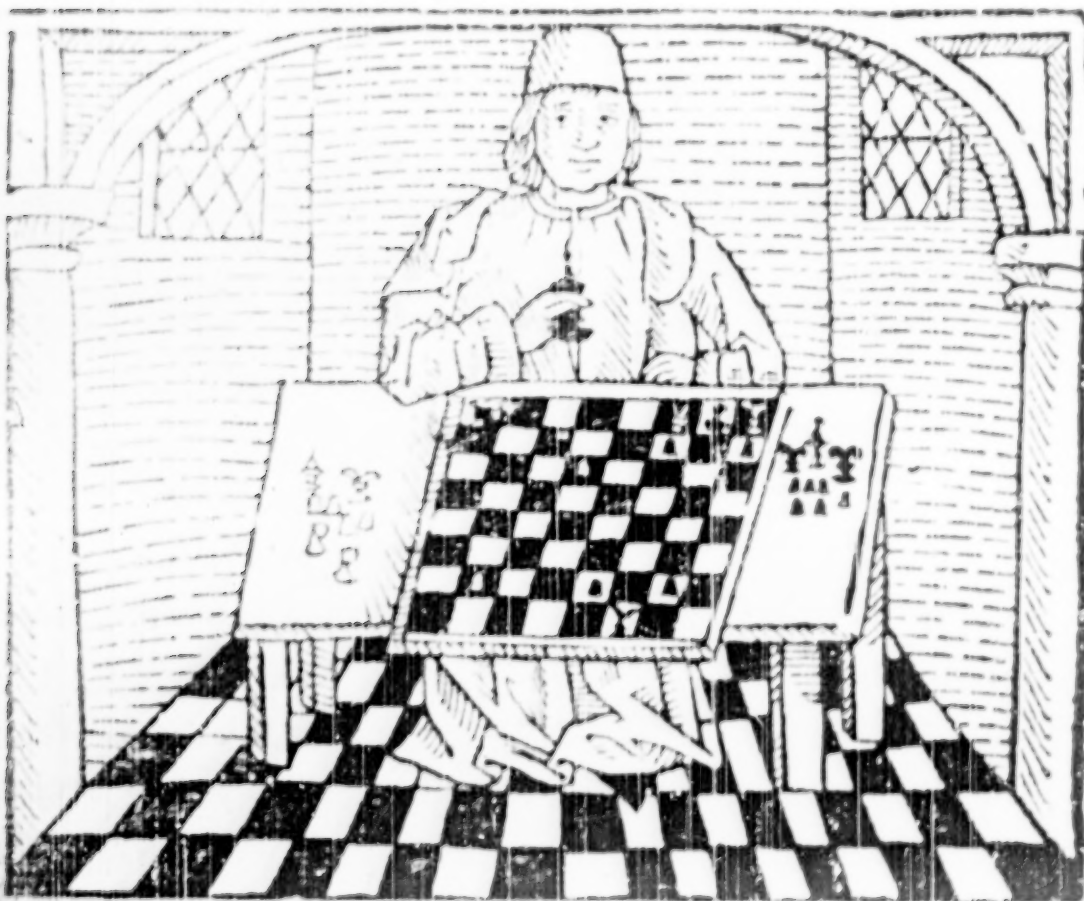
One yssue and one moeyngy apperteyneth vnto all
the comyn peple / for they may goo fro the poynt they
stande in at the first meuyngy vnto the thurd poynt : right
forth tofore them / and whan they haue so roon they may
afterward meue nomore but fro one poynt right forth in
to another . And they may neuer retorne backwardy . and
thus goyngy forth fro poynt to poynt . they may gette by
vertue and strength : that thyng that the othe nobles
fynde by dygnyte and yf the knyghtes andy other no-
bles helpe hem that they come to the ferthest ligne tofore
them wher they aduersaryes were sette they acquyre the
dygnyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace /

For yf any of them may come to thys sayd ligne yf he be
Whyt as labourer draper, phisicien, or kepar of the cite & when
they receyve such dignyte as the quene hath / for they have
goten hit / & than retorning agayn homeward / they may
go like as it is sayd in the chapitre of the quene 'and yf
any of the pawns that be black as the smyth & the mar-
chaunt / the tawner, & vitaulde may come without domage
in to the same utterest ligne he shal gete by his vertu the
dignyte of the black quene / & ye shal vnderstande when
thys comyn peple meue right forth in her ligne / & fynde
any noble prynces or of the peple of their aduersaries sette
in the poynt on any side tofore hym / In that corner poynte
he may take his aduersarye whether hit be on the right side
or on the left & the cause is that the aduersaries ben sus-
picious that the comyn peple ly in a wayte to robbe her
goodes or to take her prynces when they go vppward right
forth, and therefore he may take in the right angle tofore
hym one of his aduersaries / as he had espied his prynces
and in the right angle as robber of his goodes & whether
hit be goynge forward or retorning fro black to whyt, or
whyt to black the pawns must alwey goo in his right lig-
ne & alwey take in the corner that he fyndeth in his waye
but he may not goo on neyther side til he hath ben in the
fardest ligne of the chequer & that he hath taken the nature
of the draughtes of the quene / & than he is a fiers and
than he may goo on al fides cornerwysse fro poynt to poynt
onely as the quene both fightynge & takynge whom he fyn-
deth in his waye. And when he is thus comen vnto the
place where the nobles his aduersaries were sette he shal

he made Whit fiers and black fiers / after the points that
he is in / & there taketh he the dygnyte of the quene / & alle
these thynges may appere to them that beholden the playe
of the chesse .and ye shal vnderstonde that no noble man
ought to haue despyte of the comyn peple .for hit hath ben
ofte tymes seen .that by their vertu and wyte / dyuerce of
them haue comen to right hygh & grate estate as popes .
bysshops .emperours and kynges .as we haue in the histo
rye of dauid that was made kyng of a shepheard and one
of the comyn peple & of many other / and in lyke wise we
rede of the contrarye . that many noble men haue ben
brought to myserye by theyr default .as of gyges .whiche
was right rich of landes and of richesses . & was so vnde
that he went and demaunded of the god apollo .if there
were any in the world more rich and more happy than he
was / and then he herd a voyce that issued out of the
fosse or pitte of the sacrifice / that a peple named agalans
sophide whiche were poure of goodes & rich of courage was
more acceptable than he whiche was kyng / & thus the god
apollo alowed more the sappyence and the surete of the
poure man & of his litel meyne / than he dyd the estate
and the persone of gyges ne of his rich mayne / and hit
is more to allowe a lytyl thyng / surely pouer felde them
moche good taken in fere and drede / and for as moche as
a man of lowe signage is by his vertue enhaufed / so
moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good reno
mee . Virgyle that was borne in lombardy of the nation
of mantua and was of lowe and symple signage .yet he
was souerayn in wysecom and science & the most noble

of al the poyntes . of Whom the rymee Was / is and that
 he duryn the world . so hit happend that another poete
 aryd and demaunded of hym Wherfore he sette not the Ar
 tis of homere in his booke and he ans Werd that he shold be
 of right grette strengthe and force that shold plucke the
 clubbe out of hercules handes and thys suffiseth the state
 and draughtis of the comyn peple /

The viij chappytre and the last of the fourth booke of the
 epylogacion and recapitulacion of thys booke capitulo viij



For as moche as we see and knowe that the memo-
rye of the peple is not reventys but right forgetful
Whan some here longe talies and histories which they can
not al receyve in her mynde or recorde. Therefore I have
put in thys present chapytre al the thynges abovesayd as
shortly as I have coue / first this playe or game was fou-
den in the tyme of enlmedouch kyng of babylone And
exceases the philosopher other wyse named philometre found
hit / and the cause why was for the correccion of the kyng
lyke as hit apperith in thre the first chapytres. For the
sayd kyng was so tyranous & feloun that he myght suffre
no correccion. but slewe them and dyd so put hem to death
that correctid hym. and had than do put to death many
right wyse men, than the peple beinge sorowful and right
cruel plesid of this cruel lyf of the kyng prayed and re-
quyred the philosopher. that he wold reprove and telle the
kyng of his folye. and than the philosopher answered that
he shold be dede yf he so dyd. and the peple sayd to hym
certes thou oughtest sooner wyll to dye to thene that thy
venome myght come to the peple. than the lyf of the kyng
shold continue in cruel for lacke of thy counsell. or by faulte
of reprehension of the. or thou darist not do. & slewe that
thou sayest. & Whan the philosopher herd thys he promysid
to the peple that he wold put hym in deuoyr to correct hym
And thenne he began to thynke hym in what maner he
myght escape the death and hope to the peple his promesse
And thenne thus he maad in thys maner and ordeyg-
ned the eschequer of leyn poynted as is afore sayd.
And dyd so make the forme of eschequers of gold & siluer

in humayn figure after the facions & formes as We haue
describ'd & shew'd to you tofore in theyr chappytres / & ordy
ned the mocuyng & thestate after that it is sayd in the
chappytres of the chyllys / & When the pphlosophyr had thus
ordyened the playe or game . & that hit plesid alle them
that sawe hit , on a tyme as the phillosophyr played on hit
the kynge came and sawe hit and desired to playe at
this game / And thenne the pphlosophyr began to signe
and teche the kynge the science of the playe and the
draughtes / Sayeng to hym first how the kynge ought
to haue in hym self pyte & bonayte and rightwysnes ,
as hit is sayd tofore in the chapytre of the kynge / And
he enseygned to hym the estate of the quene and what
maners she ought to haue / And thenne of the alphyngs
as counceyllours and Iuges of the royaume /
And after the nature of the knyghtes how they ought
to be wyse . trewe and curtyse and al the ordre of knyght
hode / And than after the nature of the byrtyres and
Rookes as hit apertyth in theyr chapytre / And after
thys how the comyn people ought to goo vnto in his offyce
And how they ought to serue the nobles . And When
the pphlosophyr had thus taught and enseygned the
kynge and his nobles by the maner of the playe and
had reprehendyd hym of his euyl maners . The kynge
demanded hym vpon payn of deth to telle hym the cause
Why and Wherefore he had made and founden thys playe /
and game . And What thyng mouyd hym thereto / and than
the pphlosophyr constrainyd by feare & drede answered . that
he had promysed to the people whych had requyred hym

that he shold correcte and reprove the kynge of his euyl vi
ces, but for as moch as he doubted the death and hady seas
that the kynge wold do sice the sages & Wyse men that were
so hardy to blame hym of his vyces. he was in grete an
guysshe and sorowe, how he myght fynde a maner to cor
recte and reprehendre the kynge, and to saue his owne lyf
and thus he thought longe and studied that he found this
game or playe. Whiche he hath do sette forth for to amende
and correcte the lyf of the kynge and to chaunge his ma
ners, and he adiousted wyth al that he had founden this
game for so moch as the lordes and nobles habounden
in delictes and riches, and enioyng temporal prynces seld
eske the goodnes by playeng of this game, and for to geue
him cause to leue his pensiveness and sorowes, in auyseng
and studyeng this game and when the kynge had herd al
these causes he thought that the philosopher had founde a
good maner of correction: & than he thankyd hym greatly
and thus by benygnement and leynng of the philoso
pher. he chaunged his lyf his maners and alle his euyl
condicions and by this maner hit hyppend that the kynge
that tofore tyme had ben vicious and dysordynate in his
luyng was made Juste and Vertuous / reasoner / gra
cious and ful of Vertues vnto al peple. And a man that
luyeth in this world without Vertues lyueth not as a
man but as a best. Therfore late every man of what
condycion he be that redyth or heareth this lital booke redde
take thereby ensauple to amende hym

Explicit per Cayton

